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ABSTRACT

This report provides the base of information necessary for the development of specific policy options to prevent or reduce school resegregation, i.e., the separation of racial and ethnic groups within desegregated schools. Following a chapter on the definition and background of resegregation, Chapter 2 discusses resegregation in academic programs--ability grouping, tracking, compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education--due to methods of student assignment and program organization, and to multiple eligibility for categorical programs. The impact of discipline policies on resegregation is also discussed. Chapter 3 offers alternatives to resegregative practices in terms of student assessment and assignment, instructional organization, and student discipline practices that recognize student diversity and facilitate interracial contact. The final chapter discusses Federal strategies for reducing resegregation. An appendix outlines five ways in which the Federal government might respond to the needs of local education authorities for technical assistance to facilitate effective desegregation. (CMG)

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EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES FOR AVOIDING WITHIN SCHOOL RESEGREGATION

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Resegregation is the separation of racial and ethnic groups within desegregated schools. Its occurrence undermines the achievement of the educational and social goals of school desegregation by reducing opportunities for equal education of minority students and for positive interracial contacts among all students.

This report provides a context for the development of specific policy options to prevent or reduce resegregation within desegregated schools. The reader should not expect to find fully articulated policy options, but rather the base of information necessary to inform development of these options. The primary goal of the volume is to provide a comprehensive review of empirical literature assessing the sources and extent of resegregation within American schools and describing effective non-segregative alternatives. This systematic review of the sources of resegregation and school level remedies that exist is necessary before federal policy can be developed.

School desegregation is a mechanism for educational change as well as a vehicle for larger social goals. As an externally imposed change, however, desegregation cannot fulfill its intent if it is incompatible with school culture and organization. Resegregation is a manifestation of such incompatibility. For example, traditional instructional practices are based on homogeneous grouping of students in order to meet different individual needs. To the extent that this results in racially identifiable groups and classrooms, it impedes integration. A fragmented and pressure-sensitive policy process produces separate categorical programs that provide well-intentioned services for students with special educational needs. These programs, however, may segregate minority children who are disproportionately eligible for their services.

We have found evidence of substantial resegregation in academic programs--ability grouping, tracking, compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education--due to methods of student assignment and program organization. We have also found that school disciplinary practices, most notably suspension, contribute to resegregation due to the ways in which school rules are made and applied.

While racial and ethnic bias of school personnel cannot be discounted as a factor in resegregation, a more compelling reason is that the sources of this phenomenon are found in the organizational routines of most schools. Alternative methods of student assessment, instructional organization, and school discipline that recognize student diversity and facilitate interracial contact are available. These alternatives, however, require organizational change in most schools for their implementation. Federal education policy can play a facilitative and supportive role in accomplishing such change.

Evidence of Resegregation

There is considerable evidence that educational practices and categorical programs based on homogeneous grouping for instruction resegregate students by race and ethnicity, and that disciplinary actions fall disproportionately on minority students.

Ability Grouping and Tracking

Ability grouping among and within classrooms is widely used in elementary schools. This practice tends to segregate children by social class and race, with poor and minority children concentrated in lower groups and more affluent and white children in higher groups. Ability groups tend to be inflexible; there is little chance for students to be promoted to a higher group if they progress. Furthermore, group assignments made very early in students' educational careers are reinforced by differences in time and quality of instruction and in expectations for achievement among groups.

The perpetuation of achievement differences that results from rigid ability grouping in elementary schools contributes to secondary school track assignments that are frequently based on prior achievement.

Tracking in secondary schools is also extensively practiced. In addition to different tracks with different vocational and educational objectives, ability groups or levels within tracks may also be formed. High school tracking leads to extensive resegregation, with minority students overrepresented in vocational and general tracks and underrepresented in college preparatory tracks. Tracking has cumulative or spillover effects; the scheduling of electives and common courses may be determined by track, leading to additional segregation in purportedly non-tracked classes. Furthermore, there is some evidence of segregation among programs within the vocational track, with black females likely to be highly concentrated in homemaking and consumer courses.

Teachers and administrators continue to support homogeneous grouping in spite of its clear resegregative impact and its lack of efficacy. The weight of the evidence on its effects suggests that it is likely to result in lower achievement for low and average students and to have little impact on the achievement of high-ability students. The continuing use of these techniques may indicate a lack of resources for teaching heterogeneous groups of students. There is also research evidence that links the preference for homogeneous grouping with negative attitudes about school desegregation, especially in integrated schools with substantial proportions of minority students.

Compensatory Education

Programs of compensatory education are designed to provide special services to students with low achievement and poverty backgrounds. Since minority group children are found disproportionately in both of these categories, they are also overrepresented in ESEA Title I and other compensatory education programs. Because compensatory services--usually remedial reading and math--are most often provided in a pullout setting, they tend to have resegregative effects. Removing

eligible children from the regular classroom for part of the school day increases the likelihood of more segregated classrooms and racially isolated remedial groups. Pullout has not been demonstrated to have superior effects on achievement to in-class or mainstream approaches. The regulations governing Title I do not require pullout, but the requirements for separating funds and services for eligible students make this method of service delivery appear to be the easiest way to comply.

Special Education

More blacks are assigned to special education programs than are any other racial or ethnic group. Black students tend to be greatly overrepresented in educable mentally retarded (EMR) classes and underrepresented in learning disability (LD) classes. The proportion of blacks in EMR classes and the black/white disparity in EMR placement remains greatest in the South, but it is evident in all regions. Hispanic disproportionality in EMR classes is declining, but this group is slightly overrepresented in LD classes. Since the LD classification is generally perceived to be less stigmatizing than the EMR label, the disproportionate number of black students assigned to the more stigmatizing program raises serious questions about the evaluation and assignment processes leading to special education placement. The decline in the proportion of Hispanic children in EMR classes may reflect the elimination of the obviously unfair technique of testing Spanish-speaking children with English IQ tests. Their slight overrepresentation in LD classes may reflect ambiguity in the definition and diagnosis of this classification.

Placement in special education does not necessarily mean full-time placement in a special class. Mainstreaming in regular classrooms for varying amounts of time is becoming more frequent. In the EMR category, however, most of students' time is spent in the self-contained class. Furthermore, mainstreaming may place the student in racially segregated, low-track regular classes.

Bilingual Education

There is very little reliable data on characteristics of students in bilingual education programs or on the ways in which programs are organized and services delivered. The information that is available suggests that many Spanish-surnamed children who do not lack proficiency in English are enrolled in bilingual education classes. One study estimated that one-third of bilingual education students are enrolled due to limited English proficiency. Furthermore, transition out of such classes for students who have acquired sufficient English proficiency to function in regular classes is infrequent in most programs.

Some degree of segregation in bilingual education is probably inevitable, but a wide variety of temporal and organizational arrangements are possible. There is a dearth of information, however, describing the empirical variation in these factors. To the extent that students are channelled into bilingual education on the basis of ethnicity rather than linguistic needs, the program is unduly resegregative regardless of how it is organized.

Reasons for Academic Resegregation

Standardized tests of IQ and achievement are an important tool in the placement of students into ability groups and tracks and categorical programs. Because the mean differences in scores among various ethnic groups are substantial, use of tests in this manner resegregates academic programs. To the extent that the tests are biased, or reflect differential experiences of children rather than inherently different abilities to learn, rigid and inflexible tracking systems may perpetuate these differences and legitimize the differences in educational opportunity afforded students as well as the lack of contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups.

Test bias may lead to resegregation, but basing assignment decisions on professional judgment is not necessarily a choice more likely to enhance integration. There is considerable evidence that when teacher judgment enters into placement decisions, social class segregation is greater than it would

be if test scores alone were used. There is no direct empirical evidence that racial or ethnic bias contributes to the disproportionate low placement of minorities, but to the extent that teachers make placement decisions based on their impressions of students, one would expect minority students to suffer displacement into lower tracks. This inference is supported by considerable research evidence of teachers' perceptions of racial differences in students' ability and motivation.

Program organization is another major factor in resegregation. Categorical services are typically provided in pullout settings or in self-contained special classes and enroll disproportionate numbers of minority children. Children who are eligible for several categorical programs spend large portions of the school day outside of the regular classroom, often in more racially isolated groups. In some cases students receiving special services are placed in a separate track or classroom for the entire school day.

School Discipline

The impact of suspension falls disproportionately on minority students, especially blacks. Black students tend to be suspended in greater proportions, more repeatedly, and for longer periods of time than white students. Racial disparity in suspension from school has been found in numerous schools and districts that vary greatly in size, racial composition, and other demographic characteristics. By the same token, the existence of schools and districts that do not suspend black students at high rates indicates that racial differences in behavior alone cannot account for this phenomenon.

There is some evidence that overall suspension rates and black disproportion in suspension rates increase immediately following school desegregation, especially in schools with a substantial new population of black students. Blacks are more often suspended for "subjective" offenses that require judgment or interpretation, rather than for more clearcut offenses involving harm to another person or property.

Drop-out rates are also disproportionately high for minority groups, with the greatest disparity for Hispanics. There is limited evidence to support the "pushout" hypothesis that frequently suspended minority students are eventually induced to drop out of school. Some research has yielded correlations between school suspension rates and dropout rates.

A number of reasons have been advanced for racial and ethnic disparity in disciplinary actions. Some suggest that the disproportion stems from greater misbehavior by minority students. Others point to differential application of school standards. The increase in suspensions that occurs when minority students attend previously all-white schools suggests that a combination of factors are at work, abetted by insensitivity of school professionals to cultural differences in accepted behavior. The large disparities in suspension rates among schools, even within a single district argue against blaming students. High minority suspension rates have been associated with negative staff attitudes toward school desegregation and with perceived communication problems between races.

Alternatives to Reduce Resegregation

While the educational practices that result in resegregation are widespread, other techniques are available that have been shown to reduce resegregation or, theoretically, should have the concomitant effect of doing so. We have examined alternatives in the areas of student assessment, organization of categorical programs and of classroom instruction, and school discipline.

Student Assessment

Student Assessment includes both standardized testing and the broader range of interactions and judgments encompassed by the psychological assessment process. Alternatives in the development of standardized tests include the calculation and publication of psychometric information specifically pertaining to minorities, such as multiple norms, reliability coefficients, and validity measures for different racial and ethnic minority groups. Test users in schools should become more familiar with the psychometric properties of the

tests they use and with the application of those tests with minority children.

The assessment process begins with the teacher's judgment that a child needs special help and the referral of the child for further screening. Too often the referral leads automatically to testing and removal of the child from the classroom without exploring other ways of addressing the problem. Alternative referral processes require changing the use and perception of the referral by both teachers and school psychologists. The referral of a child would then be viewed as a request for assistance and would initiate a consultation process among school professionals. Strategies of classroom assistance for teacher and child would be attempted before the formal testing process is conducted.

In addition to revision of the psychometric bases of standardized tests, other approaches to nondiscriminatory assessment include the alternative model (including criterion referenced assessment, learning potential assessment, and others), transactional assessment, ecological assessment, and interdisciplinary assessment. A description of the practices associated with each model and their strengths and weaknesses is provided in our report. None of these models of nondiscriminatory assessment is sufficient alone. The System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA) is one approach to the integration of several techniques. Research evidence on the use of alternative or non-traditional assessment methods is very limited.

Program Organization

Alternatives in the organization of categorical programs have a common focus on reducing reliance on pullout and integrating special services into the regular educational program of the school.

Demonstration projects that relax Title I regulations governing the targeting of services and combining of funds have resulted in schools eliminating or reducing pullout and instituting in-class compensatory programs. These

changes have occurred with no apparent dilution of services in schools with large numbers of eligible students. Schools with very small numbers of Title I students, however, may continue to find pullout the most practical type of service delivery. In either case, coordination between compensatory instruction and the regular curriculum is crucial. An emphasis on the consultant role of Title I specialists should help to accomplish this.

In special education, mainstreaming (at least part-time placement in a regular classroom), is the major alternative to special class placement. Most research comparing the effects of mainstreaming and special classes on EMR children has failed to show significant differences between the two; however, little attention has been paid to the variety of mainstreaming conditions that are possible. The amount of time spent in regular classrooms, the availability of resource room and other support services, and the organization and curricula of regular and special classes are variables that have seldom been examined in research on mainstreaming. In addition, there is little information about the effects of mainstreaming on minority children. Available data suggest, however, that mainstreamed minority students from EMR classes may be placed in low-track classes that are as racially isolated as the special education classes. Thus the effectiveness of mainstreaming in reducing resegregation depends on the extent to which regular classrooms are integrated and organized heterogeneously.

A variety of organizational arrangements are possible in bilingual education, depending on the number and characteristics of students and the goals of the program. Very little data is available on the consequences of implementing various models, but the likely extent of segregation inherent in each can be assessed. For example, a bilingual education resource room provides for greater integration than one-way (LEP only) self-contained classrooms, and

may be the best strategy for a limited number of LEP students. Two-way bilingual education programs have been successfully implemented in communities with large numbers of Spanish-speaking students where the community viewed the program as an alternative form of education rather than as a remedial program.

Classroom Organization

More "mainstreamed" delivery of categorical services and the reduction of ability grouping in regular classes require the use of organizational and instructional techniques that accommodate student diversity. We have reviewed a number of such practices for their effects on achievement and race relations. Individualized instruction alone may result in homogeneous grouping, but may be successfuly combined with flexible grouping, team teaching, and multi-age grouping in order to increase contact among students working at different levels. Cooperative learning and multiple ability techniques, which assign tasks to small heterogeneous groups and sometimes conduct competitions among groups, have consistently yielded positive effects on race relations and on achievement, especially for minority and low-achieving students.

Entire schools may be organized into teams or mini-schools, with heterogeneous groups of students assigned to a single team of teachers for all subjects and possibly for several grades. This structure increases continuity in teacher-student contact and opportunities for flexible grouping. There is also evidence of increased interracial friendships and improved interracial climate in schools organized in this way.

Discipline

Alternatives to suspension from school encompass a wide variety of "in-school suspension" (ISS) programs. These programs usually consist of several elements, including counseling and specific therapeutic or intervention techniques, a "time-out" or "cooling off" room, and a self-contained in-school suspension center to which students are assigned in lieu of

exclusion from school. Students continue their regular class assignments while in ISS Centers and sometimes receive special instruction or tutoring as well. Referral to alternative schools may be the consequence of repeated disciplinary actions and the last option to avoid out-of-school suspension or expulsion.

ISS programs are widely reported to have reduced suspensions and to have low rescidivism rates. There are few indications, however, of reduction in minority disproportion in suspensions. Furthermore, there is evidence that ISS programs and alternative schools themselves are sometimes highly segregated. Some alternative schools have, however, been successful in keeping students in school who are at high risk of dropping out or being expelled.

Another way to identify alternatives to suspension is to examine the factors associated with low suspension rates found in some schools. Minimal use of suspension has been found in schools in which administrators take responsibility for creating a positive school climate, and teachers and students view school climate favorably. Low minority suspension rates are found in schools with positive interracial climate and an equitable distribution of social influence among racial groups.

Directions for Federal Policy

The general directions for federal policy outlined here assume that the federal government should not dictate specific instructional practices in order to play a role in reducing resegregation. Rather, the federal government can facilitate state and local efforts to do so in several ways. First, categorical programs and regulations that inadvertently contribute to resegregation can be amended. Second, research on existing alternatives and development of additional ones can be stimulated. Third, dissemination of research and technical assistance for implementing specific alternatives and for developing

planning and coordination processes can be provided. Fourth, professional development programs that include alternative practices and fostering consultation and planning skills can be supported.

Categorical Programs

These programs contribute to resegregation because the target groups tend to be disproportionately minority and regulations and management practices encourage pullout and separate classes because of the need to establish fiscal accountability and to document the delivery of supplementary services. The regulations should be examined for ways to amend provisions that have this effect.

State and local education agencies should be encouraged to plan for consolidated service delivery and mainstreamed categorical services, in order to coordinate multiple programs that serve overlapping groups of children. This may be accomplished through regulatory and administrative charges or through legislative consolidation of programs. The latter approach would require a somewhat different structure than the typical block grant design, if the maintenance of services to all target groups is desired.

Research and Development

Research and development are needed both in the analysis and evaluation of existing practices and in the development of alternatives. Among the most important topics that we have indentified through our own research are:

1. Instruction techniques for heterogeneous groups of students.
2. Scheduling, grouping, and instructional practices to facilitate interaction among heterogeneous high school students.
3. Disciplinary techniques, including alternative forms of in-school suspension, that reduce the disproportionality of suspensions or exclusions of minority group children.
4. Further development and evaluation of psychological assessment techniques for evaluating minority group children fairly.

5. Development and assessment of alternative approaches to the delivery of categorical services.

The importantce of the federal role in research, development, and coordination of dissemination activities cannot be overstated. The limited resources and urgent demands for funds to meet immediate programmative needs at the local and state levels make it unlikely that research will be supported there.

Technical Assistance

Technical assistance in several categories is related to resegregation, including desegregation assistance and the technical assistance components of various categorical programs. These programs are typically administered separately and do not focus on within-school segregation. Technical assistance focused on resegregation and on the management of multiple programs needs to be provided. A mechanism for synthesizing and disseminating relevant technical assistance should be considered, either at the federal level or to assist the states in doing so. Some options appear in Attachment A.

Professional Development

Federal support for teacher education and in-service staff development has often followed the lines of categorical service delivery programs and none has emphasized techniques for avoiding resegregation. The recent consolidation of many professional development programs into a block grant reduces the possibilities of influence through federal regulation of programs. This trend, coupled with the lack of effective training models and instructional management strategies for dealing with the problems that give rise to resegregation suggests that greater attention must be focused on research, development, and technical assistance that will support efforts of state and local education agencies in the professional development of their personnel.

The central purpose of this study has been to identify the extent and causes of resegregation and to suggest some school level practices that can reduce racial isolation within schools. This information should provide a context for the development of specific policy options to prevent or reduce resegregation within the schools.

Acknowledgements

This report on resegregation was prepared by a research team consisting of Valerie J. Cook, Janet Eyler, and Leslie Ward. Each of the team members pursued the research organized by topical areas (e.g., compensatory education, bilingual education) and later worked together to develop the unified report. We wish to acknowledge Raymond Winbush for his preparation of a detailed outline on ability grouping and academic counseling of minority children as it formed the basis for our further research in these areas. Additionally, we were influenced by the work of Rachel Tompkins and William Trent and integrated many of their findings in this report. We also wish to thank Willis Hawley for his assistance in the development of policy recommendations, and continuous support throughout the project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Executive Summary	
CHAPTER ONE: RESEGREGATION: DEFINITION AND BACKGROUND	1
Desegregation as a Change Mechanism	3
The Problem of Change	4
Traditional Educational Practices	6
Academic Programmatic Regularities	6
Social Behavioral Regularities	8
Conflict and Compatibility Between Traditional Educational Practices and Desegregation	10
Factors Reinforcing Resegregative Practices	13
Characteristics of School Personnel	13
Fragmented Public Policy	15
Summary	17
CHAPTER TWO: RESEGREGATION: PRACTICES AND EVIDENCE	19
Resegregation as a Result of Assignment to Academic Programs	20
Ability Grouping and Tracking	21
Resegregation Through Ability Grouping	21
Use of Among Class Ability Grouping	21
Resegregation Through Among Class Grouping	23
Use of Within Class Grouping	23
Resegregation Through Within Class Grouping	24
Rigidity of Ability Grouping	25
Resegregation Through Tracking	27
Use of Tracking	27
Resegregation Among Tracks	28
Resegregation Within Vocational Tracks	30
The Relationship of Tracking and Ability Grouping to Desegregation	32
The Persistence of Ability Grouping and Tracking as a Programmatic Regularity	35
Compensatory Education Programs	38
Resegregation Through Compensatory Programs	42
Student Assignment	42
Program Organization	47
The Relationship of Compensatory Programs to Desegregation	49
Compensatory Education as a Programmatic Regularity	50
Efficacy of Pullout	51
Reasons for Pullout	53
Special Education Programs	54
Resegregation Through Special Education	57
Student Assignment	58
Program Organization	62
The Relationship of Special Education Programs to Desegregation	63
The Persistence of Special Education as a Programmatic Regularity	65

Page

Bilingual Education Programs..... 66
Models of Bilingual Education..... 70
Resegregation Through Bilingual Education..... 72
Student Assignment..... 72
Program Organization..... 74
The Relationship of Bilingual Education to Desegregation..... 76
Bilingual Education as a Programmatic Regularity..... 79
Reasons Resegregation Occurs..... 84
The Effects of Standardized Testing on Resegregation..... 84
Content Bias..... 85
Mean Bias..... 87
Predictive Bias..... 89
The Effects of Racial or Ethnic Bias on Resegregation... 92
The Effects of Student and Parent Choice on Resegregation..... 94
Choice in Tracking..... 94
Parental Consent for Categorical Programs..... 95
Program Organization..... 96
Multiple Eligibility for Categorical Programs..... 97
The Impact of Discipline Practices on Resegregation..... 99
Suspension..... 100
Resegregation Through Suspension..... 101
Relationship of Suspension to Desegregation..... 104
Drop-outs..... 106
Resegregation Through Drop-outs..... 106
Relationship of Drop-outs to Suspension..... 108
Relationship of Drop-outs to Desegregation..... 108
Reasons Resegregation Occurs Through Discipline Procedures. 110
Chapter Summary..... 116

CHAPTER THREE: ALTERNATIVES TO RESEGREGATIVE PRACTICES..... 118

Alternatives in Student Assignment Practices..... 118
Procedures and Alternatives in the Development of Standardized Tests..... 118
Development of Items..... 119
Norming Procedures..... 119
Establishing Reliability..... 120
Establishing Validity..... 122
Selection and Use of Tests..... 122
Procedures and Alternatives in the Referral for Assessment..... 123
Changing Teacher Perceptions of Minority Children..... 125
Changing the Meaning of the Referral..... 125
Helping the Teacher Understand the Referral Process..... 125
Changing Acceptance of the Referral..... 125
Increasing Teacher Involvement and Responsibility In the Referral and Subsequent Processes..... 126
Nondiscriminatory Assessment and Decision-Making..... 126
Psychometric Model..... 128
Alternative Assessment Model..... 130

Page

Transactional Assessment Model..... 133
Ecological Assessment Model..... 135
Interdisciplinary Assessment Model..... 136
Integration of Models of Nondiscriminatory Assessment..... 137
Alternatives in the Organization of Categorical Programs..... 139
Compensatory Education..... 139
Special Education..... 144
Extent of Mainstreaming..... 145
Effects of Mainstreaming..... 145
Racial Effects of Mainstreaming..... 147
Bilingual Education..... 148
Models of Bilingual Education..... 148
Bilingual Program Organization..... 151
Alternatives in the Instructional and Organizational Practices Within the Regular Education Program..... 156
Individualized Instruction..... 156
Phasing..... 157
Self-scheduling..... 158
Cooperative Learning Techniques..... 162
Peer Tutoring..... 166
Team Organization..... 166
Alternatives to Suspension..... 167
In-School-Suspension Programs..... 167
Counseling Programs..... 168
Time-Out Rooms..... 168
In-School Suspension Centers..... 168
Effectiveness of Programs..... 169
School Differences in Suspension..... 170
Leadership and Administration..... 171
Teacher Characteristics..... 172
Curriculum and Instruction..... 173
Student Perceptions of Climate..... 175
Interracial Climate..... 175
Chapter Summary..... 177

CHAPTER FOUR: FEDERAL POLICY: ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS..... 180

Introduction..... 180
Implications for the Federal Role..... 182
Categorical Programs..... 182
Research and Development..... 186
Dissemination and Technical Assistance..... 188
Professional Development..... 190
Summary..... 191

REFERENCES..... 192

ATTACHMENT A..... 213

CHAPTER ONE

RESEGREGATION: DEFINITION AND BACKGROUND

> Because school desegregation is often preceded by years of litigation and controversy about the creation of racially or ethnically mixed schools, it is all too easy to think of desegregation in its narrowest sense and to assume that once racially mixed schools have been set up the desegregation process is complete. However, it is crucial to recognize that it is precisely at this point in the desegregation process that interracial schooling <u>begins</u> for the students and that the nature of the students' experiences is crucial to their academic and social development. (Hawley, Crain, Rossell, Fernandez, Schofield, Smylie, Tompkins, Trent, & Zlotnik, 1981, p. 81.)

This report focuses on what happens within schools after the school bus has arrived. Specifically, this study examines how the resegregation of students within desegregated schools occurs and what can be done to minimize it. Within-school resegregation refers to the separation of children by race/ethnicity within the walls of the desegregated school. Resegregation is a major threat to desegregation in that it re-establishes racial isolation presumably eliminated by the reassignment of students from school to school. Among its other consequences, resegregation undermines the possibility for interracial/ethnic contact and equal status interactions, potentially limiting minority student achievement.

The problem of resegregation is extensive and pervasive. In an analysis of 1976 Office of Civil Rights (OCR) data, Morgan and McPartland (1980) found that while racial segregation was primarily due to segregated schools, resegregation played an important role in contributing to racial isolation in education. They noted:

> . . . majority white desegregated schools--which comprise about three-quarters of all desegregated schools and enroll about half of all black students attending desegregated schools--seem especially prone to extreme classroom resegregation. For example, at the high school level, predominantly black and entirely white classes are found in majority white schools at several times the rate that would be expected by chance. These patterns are most pronounced in the South and at the secondary school level where school desegregation has been reported to be better accomplished than other regions or levels. In other words, when black students find a greater chance of school desegregation they are also likely to find a somewhat greater chance of classroom resegregation.

This report provides a context for the development of specific policy options to prevent or reduce resegregation within desegregated schools. The reader should not expect to find fully articulated policy options, but rather the base of information necessary to inform development of these options. The primary goal of the volume is to provide a comprehensive review of empirical literature assessing the sources and extent of resegregation within American schools and describing effective non-segregative alternatives.

Chapter One provides a background for understanding the process of resegregation. It focuses on goals and values associated with desegregation and with traditional potentially resegregative practices and the possible conflicts among them, as well as the compatibility of public policy mandates and their implementation with desegregation.

Chapter Two documents the resegregative effects of traditional educational practices, with emphasis on those related to assessment and grouping of students for instruction, student discipline, and categorical aid programs. Chapter Three identifies and describes alternative practices in each of these areas.

While resegregation is a school level phenomena, its presence and its remediation have implications for federal policy. Federal policy does or could affect the extent of resegregation in several ways. Issues that should be considered by policy analysts in developing appropriate federal responses in these areas and some of their general implications are discussed in Chapter Four. They include the following:

1. The federal government inadvertently contributes to the development and maintenance of resegregative practices through its policy making and administrative processes. This includes civil rights enforcement and its relationships with other federal agencies as well as the programmatic activities themselves.

2. The Federal government provides technical assistance to schools to support the implementation of these programs that, like the programs themselves, is categorical in nature. Federal support for professional development similarly parallels the structure of service delivery programs.

3. Government support for research and development may affect resegregation and its reduction by contributing to the investigation of the phenomenon and its alternatives.

Desegregation as a Change Mechanism

> . . . (T)he school is a reflection of our society as well as the principal vehicle by which its young are socialized or prepared for life in adult society. . . . (D)iscussion of any major social problem. . . quickly centers on what schools are and what they should be. (Sarason, 1971, p. 7)

The schools became a major vehicle for increasing the equality of opportunity for minority groups through the implementation of school desegregation. The landmark Supreme Court decision in Brown v. The Board of Education (1954) provided the basis for desegregation mandates and practices. The thrust of the brown decision was that separate educational facilities for black and white students are inherently unequal, and that black students have the right to equal access to educational opportunity. Subsequent judicial decisions expanded this reasoning to remedy the effects of a variety of past segregative practices.

Desegregation since the Brown decision was largely considered a black-white issue. It was not until the 1970's that Hispanics were considered an identifiable ethnic minority group for the purpose of desegregation (Cisneros v. Corpus Christi, 1970) and entitled to the benefits of equal protection as were whites and blacks (U.S. v. Texas Education Agency, Austin, 1972). Hispanic involvement in desegregation in recent years has been aimed at the preservation of bilingual education programs within districts slated to desegregate (U.S. v. Texas, San Felipe Del Rio, 1972; Milliken v. Bradley,

1974; Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, 1975).

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the federal government with the necessary leverage to enforce desegregation in virtually every school district in the country. Furthermore, it explicitly included ethnic minorities as well as blacks:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and later the U.S. Department of Education has interpreted Title VI broadly to include within-school practices and programs as well as the assignment of students among schools.

Desegregation can be viewed as a major change mechanism by which to integrate minority groups into the American society. The primary goals of desegregation are (1) to end racial isolation, (2) to provide equal educational opportunity, (3) to enhance minority self-esteem and self-confidence, (4) to improve academic achievement, (5) to improve race relations at the student-student and educator-student levels, ultimately resulting in (6) enhancing the opportunities of students from low income backgrounds for improved economic and social status, and (7) developing a society which provides an atmosphere of positive human relations and peaceful social change (Broh & Hawley, 1980). The extent to which desegregation fosters the attainment of these goals depends in large measure on the creation of racially/ethnically balanced schools which provide an opportunity for equal status interaction among students of different races and backgrounds (Hawley, Crain, Rossell, Fernandez, Schofield, Smylie, Tompkins, Trent, & Zlotnik, 1981).

The Problem of Change

Desegregation can be seen as an innovation aimed at producing change.

But in order to achieve that change, schools themselves must change in order to adapt to the innovation. Change, then, is not so much the innovation itself, but the school's adaptation to that innovation (Hawley, 1976). The process of moving from innovation to adaptation constitutes the problem of change.

For teachers and administrators, these problems involve change in attitudes and behavior, as well as change in curricula, instructional methods and strategies for social control, classroom management and relationships with parents. Some of these changes are a part of adapting to any innovation. But in school desegregation, these problems--all of which are sources of personal stress--must be confronted simultaneously.

Sarason (1971) suggests that when evaluating the degree to which the goals of change are reached, that is, the degree of the school's adaptation, one must examine the associated and resulting programmatic and behavioral regularities within the system. In the instance of desegregation, the ultimate test of goal accomplishment is the degree to which students within desegregated schools are not isolated from one another and have the opportunity for equal status interaction. Because desegregation requires comprehensive changes, it increases the complexity, uncertainty, and diversity with which school personnel must cope. These demands frequently overload the professional capabilities and the capacity for ambiguity that teachers and administrators possess. The need for reduction of that overload typically leads to a search for clarity and simplification that manifests itself in classifications, programs, and routines which are resegregative. In short, the demands for change brought about by desegregation result in the perpetuation or revival of the traditional responses of schools to diversity--such as the forming of homogeneous groups and the adoption of

behavioral standards that reduce diversity which, de facto, increase racial isolation.

Sarason (1971, p. 3) notes that: ". . . any attempt to introduce a change into the school involves some existing regularity, behavioral or programmatic." The paradox of desegregation may be that it often reinforces programmatic and behavioral regularities of schools which have the consequence of resegregating students within schools.

Traditional Educational Practices

Even with apparently homogeneous (e.g., all-white) student populations, schools are confronted with heterogeneity of student academic competencies and social behaviors. This section examines the traditional responses (academic programmatic and social behavioral regularities) of the school system to student academic, linguistic, and behavioral heterogeneity.

There are two primary motivating factors which cause schools to develop programmatic and behavioral regularities. The first of these is the consensus among educators that the basic concern of formal education should be the promotion of academic achievement. The second is a motivation which schools share with all other social systems--to maintain stability. The first factor results in programmatic regularities in the content and organization of academic offerings. The second results in behavioral regularities aimed at the regulation of student behavior and the attainment of discipline.

Academic Programmatic Regularities

The traditional response of schools to academic heterogeneity is to sort students into homogeneous instructional groupings on the rationale that homogeneous groupings are more efficient and effective. Academic heterogeneity or diversity is a relative concept; it is apparent among

"normal" students, among "exceptional" students ranging from those who are gifted to those who are handicapped, among students who vary substantially in their English-speaking ability, and so forth. The academic diversity of "normal" students is commonly addressed by more or less structured homogeneous grouping, such as ability grouping between and within classes in elementary schools and leveling and tracking in secondary schools. Epstein (1980) has described this tradition as follows:

> After the school bus stops at the door the students enter school and go to their classes. In high school, the students attend the course of their assigned curriculum tracks, with some students going to honors courses and others to regular or remedial courses. In junior high school, the students take their books to section 8-1, 8-2, 8-3, or 8-4 and on down the list of bright to dull classes. In elementary school, the bluebirds, robins and magpies meet in their reading groups, spelling, and math groups.

In recognition of the educational disadvantages of poor and minority children, compensatory or remedial education programs have been designed and implemented, for example, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and programs funded by the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). These remedial programs are designed to provide extra instruction by specialists who would be better able than classroom teachers to meet the students' educational needs. Compensatory programs tend to operate on a pull-out basis, in which the participating children leave their regular classrooms for instruction in reading and/or mathematics.

The maximum academic diversity of students occurs when mentally handicapped children are included in regular classrooms. Many handicapped children had long been excluded from public education until the handicapped child's right to public education was established via judicial and legislative mandate [PARC v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1971; Mills v. Board of Education (District of Columbia), 1972; Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, 1973; Education for All Handicapped Children Act (P.L. 94-142), 1975].

It has been assumed that because handicapped children have special needs, special materials and instructional methods and specially trained teachers are needed. The traditional practice has been to provide this specialized instruction by grouping them according to their handicapping condition and providing instruction on either a pull-out or full-time special class basis. Recent policy development, however, has required consideration of the "least restrictive environment" in which to provide services.

The academic diversity of children may be further complicated by their linguistic differences. English language proficiency may range from monolingual-English to monolingual-other-language. Though federal mandates for bilingual education have evolved in roughly the last fifteen years, schools have been providing bilingual education services since the latter half of the 19th century (Thernstrom, 1980). Bilingual education programs is a generic term encompassing a wide variety of instructional models designed to address the English-language deficiencies of students. These models include instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL), transitional bilingual programs, and bilingual-bicultural maintenance programs; they may be organized along a continuum from part-time pull-out to full-time bilingual education placement. Programs may enroll only limited-English-proficient (LEP) students (one-way) or may be open to all students (two-way).

The impetus for all of these grouping/sorting practices is to manage the academic diversity of the student population by reducing that diversity in any given instructional setting. Assignment to homogeneous groups is accomplished through a complex procedure involving standardized testing, evaluation of school performance, teacher and other school personnel judgments, and, in some cases, student and/or parent choice.

Social Behavioral Regularities

Maintenance of the school as a social system requires the development

of guidelines for behavior of students and school personnel. School discipline policies have a very real educational purpose; orderly schools and classrooms are necessary to facilitate the activities of teaching and learning. Critics, however, have asserted that some school discipline policies are arbitrary and not related to educational purposes, but rather are used to maintain status quo, dominant cultural values (Chesler, Crowfoot, & Bryant, 1979). The discipline policies relevant to resegregation are those which result in exclusion from school--suspension and expulsion. Suspension, a widely-used disciplinary practice, is defended by school officials as an effort to get parents' attention and to get them to come to the school (Children's Defense Fund (CDF), 1974; National Public Radio, 1974). However, many school officials acknowledge that this frequently does not result and that suspension may alleviate an immediate situation but is not a solution in the long run (CDF, 1974). Suspension, a short term exclusion from school, becomes even more important as a potential source of resegregation when one considers the effect of repeated suspensions, perhaps culminating in expulsion or dropping out. The Southern Regional Council (1973) posited a relationship between repeated suspensions and dropouts, reflected in the term "push-outs". The exclusionary practices of schools have been met with much criticism and have been the focus of several litigation efforts. The courts have intervened to require due process proceedings prior to school exclusion (Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education, 1961; Goss v. Lopez, 1975) and have addressed the appropriateness of exclusionary disciplinary procedures to the nature of the student offense (Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 1969; Goss v. Lopez, 1975).

Suspensions, expulsions, and "push-outs" are behavioral manifestations of school culture and social climate. In turn, school social climate is

affected by the administrative leadership and personality characteristics of school personnel, as well as by variables associated with the social diversity of the student population.

Conflict and Compatibility Between Traditional Educational Practices and Desegregation

The educational practices described above were established as programmatic or behavioral regularities in schools long before desegregation became a reality. Until recently, their capacity for resegregating students was not fully considered as a potential threat to the achievement of integrated education. The impetus for school desegregation arose from social forces and government institutions outside the school system itself. While desegregation is an externally imposed change, traditional educational practices are embedded in the school culture. Thus the problem of resegregation may be viewed as one that arises from the introduction of an external mandate for change in a setting that has a well-established institutional culture. Sarason (1971, p. 36) describes the general characteristics of such a situation as follows:

> 1. (T)he stimulus for change came primarily from outside the school culture.
>
> 2. (T)here was little or no attention to the characteristic regularities of the institutional culture and their possible social and psychological correlates.
>
> 3. (T)here seemed to be the unverbalized assumption that the goals of change would be achieved independent of any change in these regularities.

These characteristics are applicable to the implementation of desegregation in the context of the traditional methods and organization of schools. Perhaps most significant is the third point above. The achievement of change through desegregation is dependent on the adoption not only of a set of goals, but also of a set of processes within the school. Desegregation incorporates a set of posited process-outcome

relationships; to the extent that the processes of integrated education depart from the standard practices of schools, the goals of desegregation cannot be achieved independent of change in these practices. The contrasts between the educational processes underlying desegregation and those embodied in practices based on homogeneous instruction are summarized in Table 1. The implication of the table is that while educational goals fought through desegregation and with traditional practices are not necessarily in conflict, the processes and strategies for meeting them are quite different. The table illustrates the point that change cannot be achieved through focus on outcomes alone, and that differing educational goals may, in fact, not even be the issue.

The arguments for integrated education are not only legal and moral ones, but also embody assumptions about educational processes and outcomes. The benefits of desegregation are to be achieved through equal access to educational resources for all students and through interracial contact among students and between students and educators. Improved educational achievement for previously segregated minority students and improved race relations are the posited results of these processes.

The rationale for homogeneous instructional practices rests on contrasting assumptions about how to maximize student achievement. Assessment of individual differences in ability and performance leads to the prescription of different educational methods and objectives. The grouping of similar students based on these differences is a logical consequence of this model, since no school or teacher can develop a completely unique program for each student. The conditions of integrated education cannot be met if homogeneous instruction results in racially identifiable instructional settings within desegregated schools. If the use of individual diagnosis, which all educators applaud, leads to prescriptions of grouping of students that is racially isolating, the transition from desegregation

TABLE 1

The Shared Goals and Different Strategies of Desegregation and Traditional Educational Practices

GOALS	STRATEGIES: DESEGREGATION	STRATEGIES: TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES
1. To end racial isolation	Immediately by creating racially and ethnically balanced schools	A long-term goal, by providing skills for minority students which will allow their integration into the larger society
2. To provide equal educational opportunity	Equal access to educational opportunity via the same facilities and resources; positive teacher & administrator behavior; and due process and equal treatment of students of all races and ethnic groups	Equal benefit from education via different programs, teachers, materials, & techniques designed to alleviate student deficits; and positive teacher & administrator behavior and due process.
3. To enhance minority self-esteem and self-confidence	By ending the stigma of separation, providing a better education for minorities, and giving minorities the opportunity to develop skills & experience in dealing with whites	By providing appropriate education via instructional groups designed to meet individual student needs thus providing skills appropriate to individual differences
4. To improve academic achievement	By assuring equal access to equal educational opportunities	By providing specialized instruction in order to enhance the possibility of equal benefit from educational opportunity
5. To improve race relations among students and between students and educators	By creating ethnically balanced schools thus increasing interracial contact, providing an opportunity for equal-status interactions	By remediating the educational disadvantages of minority children, thus creating a more equal status between minority and non-minority children

to within-school integration cannot be made. In other words, the irony is that diversity increases the desirability of differentiating instructional practices so as to meet the different needs of students, but this invariably results in the reduction of opportunities for interracial interaction.

It is this dilemma that is at the center of the difficulties in bringing about a transition from desegregation to integration. As long as the problem is unresolved, until educators have techniques for effectively dealing with the educational needs of a very diverse student body in an integrated setting, desegregation will not be seen as a viable educational strategy. Resegregation is a manifestation of the failure of desegregation as a philosophy that educators and parents believe in as a strategy that benefits children.

Factors Reinforcing Resegregative Practices

Traditional educational practices are one factor creating resegregation. The continuing use of these resegregative practices appears to be supported by two additional factors: (1) the inability of school personnel to deal with student differences in an adaptive and responsive way, and (2) the fragmented public policy making process. The relationship of these factors to educational practices is not linear, but transactional; educational practices, characteristics of school personnel, and fragmentation of policy are interrelated in a cycle in which each serves to support and maintain the others.

Characteristics of School Personnel

Sarason (1971, p. 121) reminds us that "man's desire to change is more than matched by his ingenuity in avoiding change." The drive to maintain the school's stability as a system through academic/programmatic and social/behavioral regularities is strong. The ability of the school personnel to change the academic and social regularities of the school may be related to their lack of knowledge about alternatives to current practices. Teachers

may lack specific technical knowledge about how to implement alternatives. In other instances, lack of behavioral change in teachers may reflect their values and attitudes regarding minority students. The frustrations that come from a lack of knowledge about alternative ways of dealing with diversity, may be heightened by the distance some teachers feel between themselves and children of races and social backgrounds different from their own. Minority children are often "mysteries" to teachers who are uncertain about how to evaluate the differences they see and sometimes overestimate.

In some cases, the persistence of sorting mechanisms may be traceable to racism resulting at its harshest in blatant attempts to segregate minority students into particular classrooms or tracks. In other cases, school personnel may have preconceptions about the abilities of minority students that increase the likelihood that these students will be classified into lower tracks, or that they will be sorted into bilingual classes on the basis of ethnicity rather than language proficiency. Such insensitivity may extend to misperceptions of cultural behavior which causes students to be punished or suspended from school disproportionately by race or ethnicity.

Evidence on racial/ethnic bias in education is illusive. One of the difficulties in documenting this source of resegregation is that of establishing the values or racism of school personnel: "It is certainly not a peculiarity of school personnel that what they will say in public will not always square with what they think privately, particularly if they know what that particular public expects them to say" (Sarason, 1971, p. 5). The difficulty of defining the problem should only serve to underscore the importance of understanding that factor in the process of resegregation. In any case, focusing on personal bias as the source of the problem of resegregation may induce guilt or sensitivity but it does not provide

educators with practical options that permit them to pursue the goals they value most: academic achievement and the maintenance of order. While change in the attitudes of school personnel are important in combating resegregation, this is not likely to occur following change in experiences that school personnel have with minority students. Thus the most important prerequisite to change is a thorough understanding of the alternatives and associated skills necessary for successful classroom management and instructional methods for heterogeneous groups. This report focuses on those alternatives in Chapter Three.

Fragmented Public Policy

The school is both a reflection of society and a vehicle for socialization. Thus intervention in major societal problems often focuses on the school. In addition to the problem of desegregation, societal problems addressed through school intervention include: ameliorating educational disadvantages of low-income and minority children, providing opportunities for the handicapped, and addressing linguistic differences of students.

As the federal role in education has grown since the 1960's, educational policy has reflected the concern with equal educational opportunity that underlies desegregation, but has also incorporated educational strategies that address individual and group differences and thus may contribute to resegregation. In addition, the political and bureaucratic process of policy making and administration contribute to fragmentation among programs. The sources of this fragmentation are found in congressional politics, government organization, and interest groups clustered about particular policy concerns.

The importance of policy "subsystems"--functionally specialized congressional subcommittees, executive branch agencies, and organized

constituent groups--has been documented in many policy areas (Freeman, 1965; Lowi, 1969). In education, different subcommittees have jurisdiction over education of the handicapped, bilingual education, and compensatory education. The organizations that act as advocates for these populations have specific educational concerns. Responsiveness to these concerns also reflects the political strength of the constituencies they represent. Thus the expansion of bilingual education programs is not only a response to the needs of children with limited English proficiency; it also symbolizes the growing size and influence of the Hispanic community.

The enactment of programs that deliver identifiable services to influential constituent groups is also compatible with the political needs of members of Congress. Categorical programs allow Congressmen to point to the distribution of funds in their districts as evidence of political accountability to important elements of their constituencies. In addition, establishing identifiable groups of eligible recipients facilitates the demonstration of fiscal accountability and proper use of funds.

Bureaucratic organization follows the pattern of program specialization at federal and state levels. The creation of a new office or agency to administer a program is an indication of the importance of its constituency and a source of prestige for its administrators. Government agencies and their constituent organizations typically resist attempts at reorganization or consolidation (Seidman, 1975). State agencies in turn create separate organizational units to parallel different federal funding sources, since this makes it easier to demonstrate fiscal accountability.

Decisions by the courts have also affected the operations of schools and further complicate the implementation of potentially conflicting executive and legislative mandates. In addition to desegregation plans which may also include remedial services, the courts have required special education and

bilingual education programs. Court rulings also affect student discipline practices in the schools. The courts, like other branches of government, have provided an avenue for special interests to have an impact on policies affecting their constituencies.

At the local level, numerous programs and regulatory policies are confronted by the school system and individual schools where programs operate simultaneously, each with their own definition of problems, regulations and systems of accountability. A school district undergoing desegregation copes with the desegregation process. Concentrations of disadvantaged students and bilingual students may be dispersed and therefore lose special services. Or they may attend desegregated schools but remain segregated within the school in order to receive the services. Children who are eligible for different types of services may receive all of them but consequently have little exposure to the regular classroom. While federal eligibility guidelines for different programs may seem very specific, in practice it may be difficult to determine which of several services are most appropriate for an individual child. It is at the local level that issues of coordination and conflict among programs become most apparent.

Summary

The role of schools in society has been expanded from that of a vehicle for socialization to that of a societal change agent. Desegregation of schools was implemented to initiate major social change with the goal of creating equal status for minorities in society. Resegregation is a major threat to desegregation. Three sources of resegregation were identified: (1) the traditional responses of schools to diversity--the academic/programmatic regularities of sorting and grouping and the social/behavioral

regularities of the school climate, (2) the inability of individuals in the schools to respond to change and to deal with student differences in an adaptive and responsive way, and (3) the fragmentation of the political system and the policies that derive from it.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEGREGATION: PRACTICES AND EVIDENCE

Three sources of resegregation were identified in Chapter One: (1) the traditional responses of schools to diversity, (2) racism or the inability of individuals in the schools to deal with cultural differences in a sensitive way, and (3) the fragmented public policy making structure and process.

This chapter will focus on the traditional responses of schools to diversity, that is the academic/programmatic and social/behavioral regularities which have collided with desegregation. These responses include the academic practices of ability grouping and tracking, compensatory educational services, special education and bilingual education and discipline practices which lead to exclusion of students from school. Discussion of these practices will include (1) a description of the practice and related government mandates, (2) assessment of its resegregative effect, (3) evaluation of the relationship of the practice to desegregation, (4) a description of the effectiveness of the practice and rationale for its continuance as a programmatic regularity, and (5) identification of the reasons why these traditional practices are resegregative. Other sources of resegregation, that is, insensitivity and fragmented public policy making processes will be discussed, where appropriate, within the context of these programmatic and social/behavior regularities.

Resegregation As a Result of Assignment to Academic Programs

One set of policies and practices that can lead to resegregation are those related to the assignment or selection of academic programs. Schools typically sort students into homogeneous groups for instruction and these instructional groupings often entail different educational goals. The process by which such selection occurs includes use of a mix of objective and subjective criteria including standardized testing, recommendations of teachers, counselors, and other school personnel, and parent and student choice. The reasons for a student being in a particular program are complex, the research limited, but a clear outcome of the drive for homogeneity of instruction is resegregation. There are several dimensions of student diversity and a variety of grouping practices are used to attempt to address these differences. These include several forms of ability grouping, tracking and remedial programs for students thought to be in the wide normal range of ability; a variety of special education programs for handicapped students, and several ways of organizing instruction in bilingual education programs for students with limited English proficiency (LEP).

Ability grouping and tracking are the primary methods for separating students into homogeneous groups and thus a major force for resegregation. Ability grouping may refer to the practice of assigning students to separate classrooms on the basis of some assessment of their "abilities" or to similar within-class groupings of students. When these ability groups are rigid and students take all their subjects in a high or low group, students are sometimes said to be "tracked." In this report, tracking refers more narrowly to differentiated curricula for secondary students; schools usually offer college preparatory, general, and vocational tracks. In high school these practices are often combined, resulting, for example, in honors, regular, and remedial sections of

courses within the various tracks. Required core courses that might allow integration of students in different tracks may also be ability grouped and correspond with track enrollment.

A smaller subset of low-achieving students may be eligible to receive compensatory educational services in reading and/or mathematics. Students who have more severe learning and/or behavioral problems may be identified as handicapped and are frequently grouped into special education classes for instruction. Among the most visibly diverse groups are students with limited English proficiency (LEP). These students are frequently identifiable by racial, cultural and linguistic differences. Bilingual education programs have been implemented to meet the needs of the growing numbers of LEP students.

This first section of the paper will (1) address the extent to which academic programs contribute to resegregation, both individually and as they interact with each other, and (2) will describe some of the reasons for racial imbalance in academic placement.

Ability Grouping and Tracking

Resegregation Through Ability Grouping

Use of among class ability grouping. Ability grouping among classrooms is a common practice. In elementary schools, students are often assigned to classrooms on the basis of tests and/or teacher assessments of their abilities. In secondary schools, students are assigned to levels of courses, ranging from remedial to honors, on the basis of testing and school personnel judgments, including the implied judgment of ability groupings by previous teachers. The widespread use of ability grouping to sort students into classes is summarized in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1

Use of Ability Grouping in Schools

Sample	Percent Using Ability Grouping	Source
Southwestern Schools	66	U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974)
National Sample of 94 Elementary Schools	54	Epstein (1980)
937 School Districts in 7 Southern States	70	Mills & Bryan (1976)
82 Districts in Ohio	46	Tompkins (1978)
U.S., K-12 Classes	77	Findley & Bryan (1975)

Epstein (1980), in analyzing the 1974-75 data of the Effective School Desegregation Project conducted by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), found that approximately half of the 886 teachers reported ability grouping of their 5,284 students. Tompkins (1978) found a similar degree of ability grouping in her study of Ohio schools. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974) reported a somewhat more pervasive use of ability grouping in the Southwest. Findley and Bryan, in their 1975 review of the literature on ability grouping, report a considerably higher degree (77%) of ability grouping across the United States. Furthermore, they concluded that ability grouping is twice as likely to occur in high school placement than in elementary school.

Mills and Bryan (1976) confirmed this extensive degree of ability grouping in their analysis of the 1974-75 Office of Civil Rights (OCR) data from the seven southern states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee.

There is a strong possibility that available data on ability grouping and tracking underrepresent the practice. Carter and Segura (1979) comment on the

difficulties of obtaining accurate reports on these practices and note in the Civil Rights Study conducted in the Southwest, "We feel that the principals were unable or, perhaps, unwilling to respond correctly. Very often the official policy of a school is [flexible] grouping and the result is tracking . . . students assigned to all low-ability-level academic subjects are essentially tracked despite the official practice of grouping [for particular subjects]."

Resegregation through among class grouping. Ability grouping tends to segregate children by race and social class with disproportionately more poor and minority children in lower levels and disproportionately more affluent and white children in higher levels. This conclusion is extensively documented in three literature reviews (Findley & Bryan, 1971; Esposito, 1971; Goldberg, Passow & Justman, 1966). Several studies of tracking and ability grouping in the Southwest find a similar pattern of disproportionate numbers of Hispanic students assigned to the lowest ability groups. Typically one in three Hispanic youngsters was assigned to a low ability group compared to one in seven Anglo students (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974).

As long as the well-documented relationship between measures of ability and race obtains, any desegregated school system that uses ability grouping extensively is likely to have high levels of resegregation. A recent study of a desegregated school district in Michigan illustrates this point. This district divided students into 12 ability levels for instruction. There was a high correlation between group placement, race and social class. Black and Hispanic students were predominant in the lower 6 groups while whites dominated the upper 6. Those whites who were assigned to lower groups were, for the most part, from poor families (Green & Griffore, 1978).

Use of within class grouping. Ability grouping also occurs within elementary

classrooms for academic instruction, particularly in reading and math. Assessment of reading ability is usually the basis for grouping that may extend to other classroom activities (Haller, 1981). In the ETS study, 84% of the 886 elementary teachers questioned used ability grouping within their classrooms and those few teachers who chose not to use it had classes that they perceived to be relatively homogeneous (Epstein, 1980).

Resegregation through within class grouping. The impact of within-class ability grouping on resegregation is a complex matter. The classroom may not be racially identifiable; yet within-class grouping may establish a status arrangement or it simply may keep certain children together for parts of the day in ways that reduce interracial contact. If the fast reading group works with the teacher for 20 minutes, and then goes back to a table and sits together for seat-work for 20 minutes while the average group is with the teacher and then goes to the activity center for 20 minutes while the teacher works with the slow group, the students spend most of their classroom time interacting within their group. If the fast reading group is largely white and the slow reading group is largely black, interracial contact is substantially reduced. In this way, grouping that may be educationally defensible for one learning task spills over into activities where ability grouping is not needed and where it limits the diversity of each student's classroom contacts.

Ethnographic studies which began to flourish in the 1970s have begun to document systematically these within classroom social organizations and their impact upon children (Rist, 1970, 1978, 1979; Lawrence, 1969; Noblit, 1979; Collins, 1979). Rist's 1970 study focused upon a group of all black children observed in kindergarten, first grade and second grade. He argued that kindergarten teachers develop expectations about the academic potential of students based upon subjective interpretations of the attributes and characteristics of students. Most of those attri-

butes are correlates of social class:

> First, the kindergarten teacher possessed a roughly constructed 'ideal type' as to what characteristics were necessary for any given student to achieve 'success' both in the public school and larger society. These characteristics appear to be a significant part related to special class criteria. Secondly, upon first meeting her students at the beginning of the school year, subjective evaluations were made of the students as to possession or absence of the desired traits necessary for anticipated 'success'. On the basis of the evaluation, the class was divided into groups expected to succeed (termed by the teacher 'fast learners') and those anticipated to fail (termed by the teacher 'slow learners'). Third, differential treatment was accorded to the two groups in the classroom with the group designated as 'fast learners' receiving the majority of the teaching time, reward directed behavior and attention from the teacher. Those designated as 'slow learners' were taught infrequently, subjected to more frequent control oriented behavior and received little if any supportive behavior from the teacher. Fourth, the interactional patterns between the teacher and the various groups in her class became rigidified, taking on test-like characteristics during the course of the school year with the gap in completion of academic material widening as the school year progressed. Fifth, similar processes occurred in later years of schooling, but the teachers no longer relied on subjectively interpreted data as the basis for ascertaining differences in students rather they were able to utilize a variety of informational sources related to past performances as the basis for classroom grouping. (pp. 413-414)

If decisions about within-classroom organization made in kindergarten tend to separate children by social class, they will tend to separate children in desegregated classrooms by race as well. If, as Rist documents, teachers in later elementary years base their classroom organization on children's position in the previous year, then children are locked into a within-classroom grouping pattern which will eventually surface in separation among levels or tracks in the junior or senior high school.

Rigidity of ability grouping. Ability groups in elementary schools, both among classes and within classes, are frequently rigid with little chance for the students to be promoted as they progress. Early decisions, perhaps as early as kindergarten (Rist, 1970), may channel students permanently and result in track placement when they enter secondary school.

There is apparently little chance for an able student who comes to school with a lack of academic experience to make up the gap.

Epstein (1980) concluded from her analysis of the ETS data, that while "over half the teachers track students in the classroom by ability and over 80% regroup the children by ability within the classroom, only 25% report track assignment flexible enough to permit 20% of the students to change tracks from the time they entered to the time they leave the school. . . ." Green and Griffore (1978) observed a similar pattern in a Michigan school district where once students were assigned to a track, there was little or no chance of escape from the time they entered to the time they left school.

The ability of students to catch up or be regrouped when their initial low ability grouping results from academic inexperience or misperception by the teacher, is likely to be restricted by the scope of educational programs for the slow group as well as by the rigidity of the typical grouping system. Rist's (1970) finding that less time and attention is spent on those perceived to be less able and presumably in need of special attention has been borne out by other researchers. Oakes (1980) also found that less instructional time was spent with students at lower levels. After analyzing the texts and other instructional materials used by classroom groups, Green and Griffore (1978) concluded that a poorer curriculum was provided for lower groups. In his extensive review of ability grouping research, Froman (1981) found little evidence of differential instruction tailored to different group needs and concluded that lower groups were not taught in ways specifically designed to increase their ability to meet the basic instructional goals of the school.

One of the most extreme and well documented examples of racial isolation created by rigid ability grouping was found in the Washington, D.C. public school system in the 1960s. This system, which heavily relied on the use of group intelligence tests in assigning students to ability groups, was the subject of litigation which led to the abolition of that particular grouping system and to the prohibition of the use of group intelligence tests for purposes of grouping nationwide (Hobson v. Hansen, 1967; affirmed sub nom Smuck v. Hobson, 1969). The system and assignment process was abolished because the district court, and subsequently the circuit court, found that blacks were channeled into lower ability groups on the basis of tests which did not measure inherent ability. Furthermore, the courts concluded that these lower tracks did not provide proper instruction, and resulted in "dead-end" placements, with little or no opportunity for student reassignment.

In summary. Ability grouping by class and/or within class is pervasive throughout the student's educational career in public schools. These ability groups tend to be racially segregated with minorities assigned to lower levels. Furthermore, group assignments made early in elementary school persist through secondary school. Given differences in instructional time, quality, and expectations for achievement during the elementary grades, it may be concluded that different educational goals have been established for these groups. The differences in achievement that result from these elementary groupings will be used to track students into high school programs with explicitly different educational goals.

Resegregation Through Tracking

Use of tracking. American comprehensive high schools generally offer a differentiated curriculum for students. The use of the term "tracking" in this report is applied restrictively to describe this curricular

differentiation in high schools. Track selection, usually made in grades 9 or 10, is based upon prior achievement, student (and perhaps parent) preference, counselor or teacher recommendations, and program availability. While participation in a track usually implies a set core of courses, students occasionally take classes outside their track. College preparatory students may take some general or vocational courses; general students may take some vocational courses; vocational students may take some general courses; usually vocational and general students do not take college preparatory courses.

Tracking is related to ability grouping practices in that children in high ability groups generally choose a college preparatory curriculum over general or vocational tracks and low ability group children choose vocational and general tracks more frequently than college preparatory tracks.

In some schools, students are ability grouped or leveled within tracks. For example, college preparatory students may take regular, honors, or advanced placement English courses. It is not uncommon for common or untracked courses to be effectively tracked due to scheduling constraints or patterns of electives taken by students.

Resegregation among tracks. High school track selection tends to resegregate. According to an analysis of the National Longitudinal Study of 1972, white males are overrepresented in the academic track, underrepresented in vocational tracks and proportional in general tracks. Black males are overrepresented in general tracks, underrepresented in academic tracks and proportional in vocational tracks. White females are overrepresented in academic and vocational tracks and underrepresented in general tracks. Black females are strongly overrepresented in general tracks, underrepresented in academic tracks and roughly proportional in vocational tracks. Racial and gender concentrations in these tracks are

presented in Table 2.2. Other minorities tended to follow the pattern of blacks, both male and female (Harnischfeger & Wiley, 1980).

TABLE 2.2

Percentage Decomposition of Population of High School Tracks* for Males, Females, and White, Black and Other, for High School Seniors (1972)

	Academic	General	Vocational	Total
White - Male	45.3	41.8	35.6	41.7
Female	43.2	34.0	44.5	40.4
Total	88.5	75.8	80.1	82.2
Black - Male	2.3	6.1	4.4	4.1
Female	3.3	7.5	5.9	5.4
Total	5.6	13.6	10.3	9.5
Other - Male	3.4	5.0	5.0	4.3
Female	2.6	5.5	4.6	4.0
Total	6.0	10.5	9.6	8.3
Total - Male	51.0	52.9	45.0	50.1
Female	49.1	47.1	55.0	49.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Track membership as determined by the school.

Source: Harnischfeger, A., & Wiley, D. E. A merit assessment of vocational education programs in secondary schools. A statement to the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, September 1980.

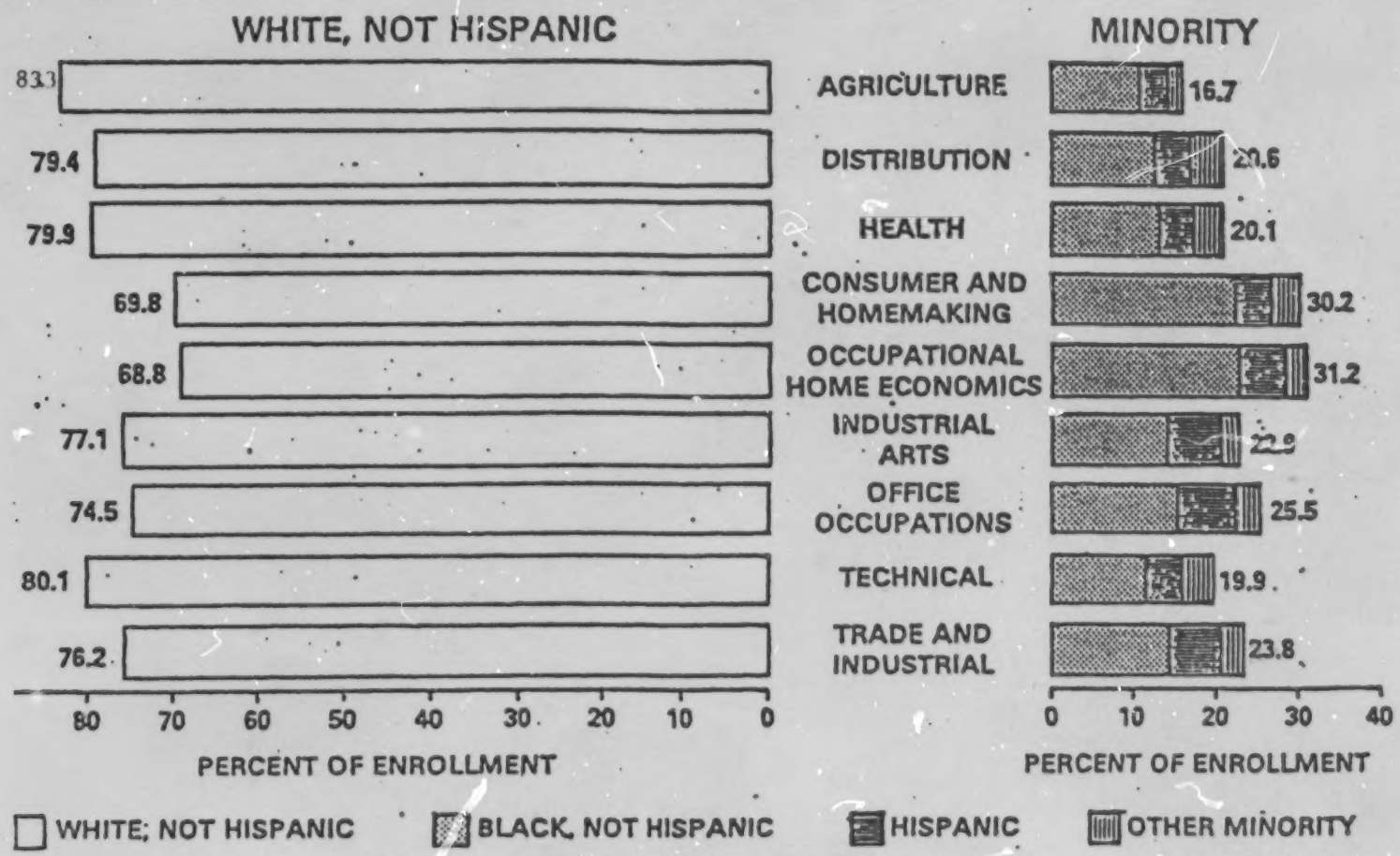
There is considerable evidence that Hispanic students in the Southwest are disproportionately placed in the low ability track (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). Carter and Segura (1979) argue on the basis of their field observations that use of tracking is related to proportion of Hispanos in the school; the more Hispanos, the more likely rigid tracking will be used. They also note early evidence that Hispanic youngsters are more likely to be placed disproportionately in vocational tracks and are underrepresented in the academic curricula.

Resegregation within vocational tracks. Resegregation also occurs within the vocational track. Recent analysis by the National Center for Education Statistics of the racial composition of various programs within vocational education indicate racial concentrations in particular programs. Black females particularly are concentrated greatly in consumer and homemaking, occupational home economics and office occupations. About 20% of the students in vocational education are minority group members. Figure 2.1 shows clearly the minority overrepresentation in homemaking programs. Office and trade and industrial show more modest overrepresentation of minorities (Wulfsberg, 1980). The Michigan study (Green & Cohen, 1979) also shows black females overrepresented in homemaking courses.

In summary. High school tracking practices lead to extensive resegregation with minority students disproportionately overrepresented in vocational or general tracks and underrepresented in college preparatory tracks. The effects of tracking are cumulative; the track may also determine enrollment in electives and differing levels of supposedly common, ungrouped courses. Furthermore, there is some evidence that different racial patterns exist within the vocational track, with black females likely to be highly concentrated in homemaking and consumer programs.

FIGURE 2.1

Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Vocational Students in Institutions Offering Five or More Vocational Programs, by Program Area: 1979



Source: Wulfsberg, R. M. Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, September 1980.

The Relationship of Tracking and Ability Grouping to Desegregation

There is no evidence specifically linking tracking and ability grouping practices to implementation of desegregation plans. It is not known if minority involvement in academic tracks has increased, decreased or stayed the same in districts where desegregation has been carried out.

There are, however, two studies which focus in detail on grouping patterns within desegregated schools. They yield findings consistent with the general pattern noted in the analysis of the NLS data, that sorting processes do act to resegregate students.

For example, a comprehensive report on a desegregated school district in Michigan concluded:

> The pattern of racially disproportionate representation is consistent. Black students were never overrepresented in the accelerated classes. They were never overrepresented in College English classes, in select math classes, nor in advanced biology courses. While the District has stated that students freely make their own choices of classes in which they enroll, in reality, little free choice is involved. Once a student is placed in a reading class (for students achieving at 5th grade level or below), this limits other "free choices," not only at the time the decision is made, but for all subsequent school years. (Green & Cohen, 1979)

Larkins and Oldham (1976) investigated patterns of racial separation in a desegregated high school in a small town in Georgia. There were 825 students in the only high school in town; 65% were black and 35% white. Two hundred students in nine American History classes were sampled for the study; systematic observations were done over a three month period and standardized achievement scores recorded. This school offered two diplomas, one for college preparatory work and the other for career development. Students were tracked into classes by CAT scores. Low scoring students took remedial reading and were barred

from English courses ranging from Shakespeare to the supernatural. Twenty-eight percent of black students scored in the low reading group compared to 1.5% of the white students. Fifty-six percent of white students were in the high achievement category for reading compared to 5.3% of black students. Math courses were similarly tracked with blacks tracked into courses leading to a vocational diploma such as business math or into remedial courses, while whites took algebra, geometry, and trigonometry.

Both the Green and Cohen and Larkins and Oldham studies found that tracking had spillover effects on scheduling of common courses, on electives and on non-curricular aspects of the school program. In the Georgia study, different sections of American History classes were extremely racially unbalanced, presumably due to schedule conflicts; there were racial patterns in the selection of social studies electives; there were racial patterns in seating within classrooms; extracurricular activities tended to be segregated; and there was relatively little interracial communication (Larkins & Oldham, 1976).

Trent (1981) recently conducted intensive interviews with from 4 to 8 persons in each of 18 school districts across the nation that have implemented court-ordered desegregation plans. Sixty percent of the respondents reported that resegregation had occurred within schools with ability grouping and tracking generally suggested as the cause. There were only three districts of the 18 where a majority denied that resegregated classrooms existed.

There is also evidence to suggest that the use of rigid grouping or tracking practices is related to the racial composition and perceived heterogeneity of the student body and to teacher attitudes about integration.

Morgan and McPartland (1980) noted, in their analysis of patterns of resegregated classrooms within schools, that maximum resegregation occurred in schools that were racially balanced. Those schools with between 40% and 50% white students were most likely to resegregate.

Epstein (1980) attempted to identify factors associated with the patterns of resegregation noted by Morgan and McPartland and found both race and student diversity to be important. The use of tracked classes in elementary school was related to the proportion of black students in the school. Schools with high proportions of black students were most likely to track, particularly if low proportions of blacks were achieving at grade level and discipline was seen as a problem.

Teacher race, attitudes towards integration and the availability of support services also contributed to selection of tracking. Schools with a high proportion of black teachers and compensatory services for students with special needs were most likely to track. More flexible grouping arrangements were selected more often if the teacher's race was white and if students rated high in motivation. Equal status programs, such as class projects and discussions on race, and multi-racial texts were also associated with flexibility.

Selection of an active learning strategy, in which teachers and students share responsibility for the students' learning and behavior, contrasts sharply with selection of compensatory programs. While active learning is a function of positive motivation, proportionately high good discipline, positive support for integration and teacher race (white), compensatory programs are selected most often when perceived motivation is low and when other tracking procedures and teacher support services are part of the school program.

Significantly, low teacher support for integration was associated with both tracking into classes and use of rigid ability grouping within classes (Epstein, 1980). The association of teacher support for integration with the choice of equal status programs and flexible grouping was also noted by Gerard and Miller (1976). They found low teacher prejudice associated with use of classroom techniques that facilitated interracial contact.

Thus, while the use of tracking and grouping is an approach to dealing with student diversity that antedates desegregation, there is reason to believe that its resegregative effects are not entirely incidental. The testing and assessment procedures which frequently determine placement may misclassify a disproportionate number of minority children. Professional judgments may be influenced by class or race bias. And, according to Epstein, the selection of rigid tracking and grouping procedures is itself associated with negative attitudes towards integration.

The Persistence of Ability Grouping and Tracking as a Programmatic Regularity

In spite of the evidence that tracking and grouping resegregates students there is considerable professional resistance to relinquish their practice. Historically, ability grouping and tracking have dominated school organization in the U.S. and elsewhere in the world. The practices enjoy tremendous support from school professionals (National Education Association, 1968) who find it administratively convenient, consistent with the value of maximizing individual achievement, and necessary for the group instructional methods commonly in use in the schools. Support for homogeneous grouping is apparently rooted in the belief that it is the best choice for meeting the learning needs of students of diverse academic backgrounds. The view that students are best taught in homogeneous groups is not supported by several decades of research on ability grouping. This is particularly true if the

following criteria are used for evaluation: (1) cognitive achievement, (2) affective outcomes, and (3) equity.

Froman (1981) conducted an extensive review of the ability grouping literature; meta-analysis was not possible because much of the literature is methodologically weak or not comparable. He was able to draw a number of conclusions which are consistent with the views of others who have surveyed this field (e.g., Esposito, 1971; Findley & Bryan, 1975; Goldberg, Passow & Justman, 1966).

There is some evidence that high ability students may benefit in cognitive achievement from tracking, but no evidence that it benefits middle groups, and low groups tend to fall behind. Interestingly the positive evidence tends to be found in early studies and not in later, better controlled studies (Froman, 1981). In contrast, there is some evidence that low and average students make cognitive gains in heterogeneous classes (Marascuilo & McSweeny, 1972).

Tracking and ability grouping may themselves contribute to the lower achievement of those assigned to lower tracks. As has been noted earlier there is evidence of less attention and instructional time devoted to children classified as low ability, and the goals of instruction may vary. Once assigned to a low track, both the quality of instruction and the procedural rigidities of most tracking structures militate against students catching up with their more advanced peers. This is particularly inequitable when the initial placement is influenced by race-related judgments or apparent gaps in achievement that result from different experiences rather than genuine differences in ability.

In an attempt to demonstrate the invidious effects of track placement itself on achievement of minority students, Tuckman and Bierman (1971)

arbitrarily moved 421 black high school students to the next higher ability group; 384 comparable students remained with their assigned group. They found that those promoted achieved at a higher level on standardized tests and that their promotion affected their teachers' perceptions of their ability. Fifty-four percent of those promoted arbitrarily were recommended for the next highest group, compared to 1% of the control group.

Tracking also has a negative effect on the self-esteem of lower groups and may inflate the self-regard of high groups (Froman, 1981). While the association of self-esteem with achievement is not well understood, a system which leaves many students with low self-regard which does not clearly promote achievement can be questioned. This is particularly true since it leads to resegregation, making the interracial contact sought as one goal of integration less possible.

The persistence of tracking and ability grouping in spite of evidence of their lack of effectiveness and their clear resegregatory effects in desegregated schools may result partly from a lack of skills and resources of school personnel for coping with heterogeneous groups of students. Teachers have few resources for instructing students with techniques that work well with heterogeneous groups; and there is evidence that they may be less successful when faced with highly diverse student bodies equipped with traditional instructional techniques (Evertson, Sanford, & Emmer, 1981).

It is also administratively simpler to divide a school or classroom into groups and deliver all services to students in those groups. Homogeneous grouping that may be useful for one learning task then extends to experiences which could be as effective with heterogeneous groups. At the school level, administrative ease sometimes leads to tracking based on compensatory program delivery (Kimbrough & Hill, 1981).

When schools provide compensatory or other services that facilitate dealing with children in homogeneous groups, the likelihood of this occurring increases. Where support services to the teacher includes assistance with flexible grouping and equal status programs, then tracking is less likely to be the choice (Epstein, 1980).

In summary. Teachers and administrators persist in support of homogeneous grouping in spite of (1) its clear resegregative impact and (2) considerable evidence to suggest that it is likely to result in lower achievement for low and average students and little evidence to support its utility for high ability students. This continuing use of these techniques may result from the lack of instructional and organizational resources for dealing with heterogeneous groups of students. The association of attitudes about integration with the choice of rigid tracking also suggests that the resegregative effect of ability grouping and tracking may not always be incidental to other educational goals.

Compensatory Education Programs

Numerous federal and state education programs have been enacted in the past two decades in the interest of increasing the equality of educational benefit for various populations. By both judicial and legislative action, provision of remedial or compensatory educational services has been required for poor and low-achieving children and children in minority-isolated and recently desegregated schools.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) distributes funds to school districts for the provision of compensatory services to economically and educationally disadvantaged children. The enactment of ESEA in 1965 paralleled the passage of major civil rights and anti-poverty legislation and reflects similar assumptions and broad social purposes.

The focus on special services for poor children recognizes the relationship between poverty and poor academic performance. In attacking that relationship, compensatory education attempts to reduce future poverty through educational reform [National Institute of Education (NIE), 1976].

The specific objectives of Title I are:

1. To provide funds to LEA's in relation to the number of low-income children, and to schools with the highest numbers of low-income students;
2. To provide special services for low-achieving children in the poorest schools;
3. To contribute to the cognitive, emotional, social, or physical development of the children served (NIE, 1976, p. xiii).

The legislative history of Title I indicates that aid to economically disadvantaged children was also viewed by Congress as a vehicle for widespread educational improvement, since concentrations of poor children may strain school districts' abilities to provide adequate programs for all students (NIE, 1976). Some lawmakers and many school officials saw Title I as a source of general aid to education (McLaughlin, 1975). One characteristic of the legislation that garnered political support was its allocation formula, which assured wide geographical distribution of funds and did not require competition for funds among eligible school districts (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). Advocates for the use of Title I as a source of focused aid to poor children saw its evaluation and reporting requirements as a tool for ensuring that, within school districts, the funds would be used as intended (McLaughlin, 1975).

Title I funds are, in fact, widely distributed, with 90% of all school districts and 90% of all eligible schools receiving funds (NIE, 1976). While evaluation reports in the early years of the program's

implementation indicated substantial misuse of funds for general educational purposes, in recent years instances of noncompliance have been rare (Goettel, 1978). The fact that only 57% of eligible children receive Title I services is due to overall appropriation levels and to the "concentration" requirements in allocation of funds (NIE, 1976). (The concentration provisions stipulate that only schools with proportions of poor students exceeding the district's average are eligible for funds; those actually receiving funds are limited so that funds are sufficiently concentrated to achieve quality programs. Within participating schools, the number of eligible students--those meeting a criterion of educational need--who receive services is correspondingly limited.)

While social and other support services are permissible expenditures, the bulk of local Title I allocations (76%) are spent on instructional services. Of this instructional budget, 53% goes for reading instruction, 19% for mathematics, and 10% for language arts (NIE, 1976).

The Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) provided assistance to school districts for purposes related to implementing desegregation and overcoming minority group isolation. As enacted in 1972, ESAA defined three classes of objectives that fall under the general intent of the program: (1) meeting needs arising from the elimination of segregation and discrimination among students and faculty; (2)reducing or preventing minority group isolation; and (3) overcoming the educational disadvantages of pupils in minority group isolated schools (those with over 50% minority enrollment) (Smith, 1978).

A wide variety of activities were authorized under ESAA, including inservice training for teachers, guidance and counseling services, community and extracurricular interracial activities, and remedial services. Two characteristics of the program distinguish it from Title I and other categorical education programs: (1) recipient districts must be implementing a desegregation plan or a

plan to reduce or prevent minority group isolation, and (2) they must have eliminated discriminatory practices affecting students and faculty, including segregative classroom assignments and grouping practices. "ESAA is thus the only equal educational opportunity-oriented program which requires the elimination of discriminatory barriers to equal educational opportunity prior to receipt of funds" (Smith, 1978).

Until 1978, however, ESAA looked much like Title I. It appeared to operate as another compensatory education program in many districts. The primary determinant in allocating funds was the size of the district's minority enrollment, not the impact of its desegregation plan on reduction of minority group isolation, or the recency of implementation of the plan. Most ESAA projects provided direct remedial services to disadvantaged students; the program was seen as a complement to Title I but with more flexibility in determining school and student eligibility (Smith, 1978). Remedial activities were clearly permissible under the third purpose of the Act, but not necessarily consistent with the intent of meeting desegregation-related needs.

The disjuncture between the stated purpose of ESAA and the specific uses to which funds were put appears to have originated in the politics of the program's enactment. It was proposed by the Nixon Administration as part of its "southern strategy" to minimize the differential impact of desegregation enforcement on the Southern states at a time when massive student reassignment was occurring in the South. Both the President and many Congressmen wanted to ensure that the money would not be spent on busing [Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR), 1981]. The compromise that was struck allowed funds to be used either to further desegregation per se, or to ameliorate the effects of racial isolation through compensatory services that left such isolation unchanged. The resulting legislation gave broad scope to the definition of desegregation-related needs and allows considerable leeway in the degree of actual desegregation a school district must accomplish. For example, a district

with no desegregation plan but with more than 50% minority enrollment may participate if it maintains at least one integrated school. Individual schools with over half minority group students may receive assistance even if unaffected by the district desegregation plan (Smith, 1978).

The Education Amendments of 1978 included substantial revision of ESAA aimed at clarifying the objectives of the program and re-structuring it to facilitate the achievement of these purposes. The third purpose of the 1972 Act--to overcome educational disadvantages of pupils in predominantly minority group schools--was deleted, thus circumscribing the use of funds for compensatory education. Such usage is restricted to providing services for schools and students who have lost Title I eligibility due to the effects of a desegregation plan. While funds were still apportioned among states according to the size of minority enrollment, school district applications were ranked according to two characteristics of the district desegregation plan: net reduction in minority group isolation, and recency of implementation. These amendments should have had the effect of focusing ESAA funds on desegregation assistance and related within-school issues during its last years of operation, evaluative data is not yet available.

In addition to these federally mandated programs, 12 states operate their own compensatory education programs. The federal programs themselves have several offshoots for particular groups of disadvantaged children in addition to their major provisions. Title I, for example, funds separate programs for children of migrant workers.

Resegregation Through Compensatory Programs

Student assignment. There is disproportionate minority student participation in compensatory education programs (see Table 2.3). ESAA, by its very definition, was intended to serve the needs of these students. Blacks, Hispanos, and other minority students are represented to a greater degree in the low-income and low-achieving categories, and consequently among Title I selectees, than are white students (Breglio, Hinkley, & Beal, 1978).

TABLE 2.3

Percent Enrollment in Compensatory Education Programs

	Public Elem. School Enrollment[1]	Enrollment in Title I LEA's[2]	Enrollment in Compensatory Ed.[2]	Enrollment in Title I Reading[3]	Enrollment in Title I Math[3]
White	77.9	74.8	54.0	64.0	46.7
Black	13.9	19.5	34.5	24.7	36.6
Hispanic	6.1	4.8	9.8	9.2	14.2
Other (Asian & Native American)	2.1	.8	1.6	2.1	2.4

[1]Breglio, V. J., Hinkley, R. H., & Beal, R. S. Students' economic and educa-
TIONAL STATUS AND SELECTION FOR COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

[1]Breglio, V. J., Hinkley, R. H., & Beal, R. S. Students' economic and educational status and selection for compensatory education (Technical Report No. 2 from the Study of Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills). Santa Monica, Calif.: System Development Corporation, 1978.

[2]National Institute of Education. Evaluating compensatory education: An interim report on the National Institute of Education compensatory education study. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1976. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 132 238). Includes state-funded CE programs as well as Title I.

[3]Hinkley, R. H., Beal, R. S., & Breglio, V. J. Student economic and educational status and receipt of educational services (Technical Report No. 3 from the Study of the Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills). Santa Ana, Calif.: Decima Research, 1978.

(all are sample estimates)

However, this overrepresentation is not solely the result of disproportionate poverty and low achievement. Breglio, Hinkley, and Beal (1978), in a major NIE-funded evaluation, show that within categories of economic status and educational performance, greater percentages of minority students than of whites are selected for Title I (see Tables 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6). The figures for other compensatory education services are less reliable because some of the school districts surveyed apparently included bilingual education as a compensatory program.

TABLE 2.4

Estimated Population Percentages of Students' Compensatory Education Selection Status By Family Economic Status and Racial/Ethnic Group

Economic Status	CE Selection Status: Title I/Title I Other CE (%)	Other CE Only (%)	No CE at CE School (%)	No CE at Non-CE School (%)	TOTALS (%) (Thousands)
POOR/ADFC - below Orshansky poverty line or AFDC recipient					
Racial/Ethnic Group					
White	26.5	10.1	55.1	8.3	100.0 (2,011)
Black	32.7	8.8	51.3	7.3	100.1 (1,501)
Hispanic	28.9	18.2	51.0	2.0	100.1 (556)
Other*	38.4	6.2	35.0	20.3	99.9 (113)
NON-POOR					
Racial/Ethnic Group					
White	9.4	9.7	65.4	15.5	100.0 (13,546)
Black	18.8	8.3	54.9	17.9	99.9 (1,266)
Hispanic	24.0	17.8	53.6	4.6	100.0 (696)
Other*	5.2	4.9	42.5	47.4	100.0 (317)
Total Count (Thousands)	2,941	2,000	12,264	2,801	20,006

*"Other" category includes Native Americans and Asian Americans. The sample sizes for these groups preclude individual analyses. Because of the heterogeneity of this category and the small cell sizes in the table, the figures should be interpreted with caution.

Source: Breglio, V. J., Hinkley, R. H., & Beal, R. S. Students' economic and educational status and selection for compensatory education (Technical Report No. 2 from the Study of Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills). Santa Monica, Calif.: System Development Corporation, 1978.

TABLE 2.5

Estimated Population Percentages of Students' Compensatory Education Selection Status By Basic Achievement and Racial/Ethnic Group

Basic Achievement*	CE Selection Status: Title I/Title I and Other CE (%)	Other CE Only (%)	No CE at CE School (%)	No CE at Non-CE School (%)	TOTALS (%) (Thousands)
LOW ACHIEVER - at least 1 year below grade level on standardized achievement test					
Racial/Ethnic Group					
White	27.0	17.1	43.2	12.7	100.0 (2,195)
Black	35.4	10.8	40.8	13.0	100.0 (1,082)
Spanish	41.4	18.3	37.1	3.2	100.0 (437)
Other	35.9	7.7	28.0	28.4	100.0 (83)
REGULAR ACHIEVER					
Racial/Ethnic Group					
White	9.0	8.4	66.9	15.7	100.0 (10,595)
Black	19.6	7.0	61.3	12.1	100.0 (1,156)
Spanish	18.3	15.6	62.1	4.1	100.1 (553)
Other	8.3	5.0	42.1	44.6	100.0 (264)
Total Count (Thousands)	2,495	1,645	9,821	2,404	16,365

*Grades 2-6 Only

Source: Breglio, V. J., Hinkley, R. H., & Beal, R. S. Students' economic and educational status and selection for compensatory education (Technical Report No. 2 from the Study of Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills). Santa Monica, Calif.: System Development Corporation, 1978.

TABLE 2.6

Estimated Population Percentages of Students' Compensatory Education Selection Status By Family Economic Status, Basic Achievement, and Racial/Ethnic Group*

Economic Status and Educational Status	CE Selection Status: Title I/Title I and Other CE (%)	Other CE Only (%)	No CE (%)	TOTALS (%)
POOR/AFDC LOW ACHIEVER				
Racial/Ethnic Group				
White	39	16	45	100
Black	41	10	49	100
Hispanic	38	20	42	100
NON-POOR LOW ACHIEVER				
Racial/Ethnic Group				
White	24	17	59	100
Black	28	11	61	100
Hispanic	45	16	40	101
POOR/AFDC REGULAR ACHIEVER				
Racial/Ethnic Group				
White	20	7	72	99
Black	24	7	68	99
Hispanic	25	12	63	100
NON-POOR REGULAR ACHIEVER				
Racial/Ethnic Group				
White	8	8	84	100
Black	15	7	79	101
Hispanic	14	18	69	101

*Grades 2-6 only; N of "Other" Racial/Ethnic Category too small to represent in table.

Source: Breglio, V. J., Hinkley, R. H., & Beal, R. S. Students' economic and educational status and selection for compensatory education (Technical Report No. 2 from the Study of Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills). Santa Monica, Calif.: System Development Corporation, 1978.

Program organization. Student "pullout" is the dominant method of delivering Title I services (see Table 2.7). It has been estimated that 75% of compensatory aid removes the child from the regular classroom and for about one-third of those involved in pullout programs, all instruction takes place in settings with other CE students (Poynor, 1977).

TABLE 2.7

Organization of Compensatory Programs

CE Subject	% CE students served by pullout	% CE students served in regular class
Reading	85.3	14.7
Language Arts	65.5	34.5
Math	62.6	37.4

Source: National Institute of Education. Evaluating compensatory education: An interim report on the National Institute of Education compensatory education study. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1976. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 132 238)

There is also evidence of substantial use of pullout in ESAA (Wellisch, 1979) and state-funded compensatory programs (Brookover, Brady, & Warfield, 1981).

The average amount of time spent in compensatory education is 5½ hours per week or about one-fourth of the student's total available learning time. Average hours per week by subject are: reading and language arts--4 hours; math--3 hours. The overall average is higher due to the many students who receive CE in more than one subject. Students in pullout programs miss regular instruction in a variety of subject areas, not infrequently in those that are targeted for remediation such as reading or math (NIE, 1976).

National evaluations of Title I (Hinkley et al., 1978) have shown that minority students receive above-average hours of compensatory reading and math instruction delivered in small groups by special teachers (see Tables 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11).

TABLE 2.8

The Relationship of Race/Ethnicity to Time Spent in Reading and Math Instruction

Race	Mean Hrs. Reading Instruction Offered	Attended	Mean Hrs. Math Instruction Offered	Attended
Majority	243.03	230.57	171.87	163.05
Minority (Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American)	255.21	238.56	184.76	172.91

TABLE 2.9

The Relationship of Student Selection for Compensatory Education to Time Spent in Reading and Math Instruction

CE Selection Status	Mean Hrs. Reading Instruc. Offered	Attended	Mean Hrs. Math Instruc. Offered	Attended
Title I	277.79	258.94	199.48	185.51
Other CE only	254.64	238.97	172.69	161.69
No CE	238.93	226.82	172.71	163.79

TABLE 2.10

The Relationship of Race/Ethnicity to Time Spent with Special Instructors and Small Groups for Reading and Math Instruction

Race	Mean Hrs. Reading Instruc. Attended with Reg. Teacher	with non-Reg. Teacher	in Class size 2-13	Mean Hrs. Math Instruc. Attended with Reg. Teacher	with non-reg. Teacher	in class of 2-13
Majority	133.99	16.34	88.85	100.88	6.20	27.71
Minority	134.22	31.23	105.67	105.11	16.14	45.93

TABLE 2.11

The Relationship of Student Selection for Compensatory Education to Time Spent with Special Instructors and Small Groups for Reading and Math Instruction

	Mean Hrs. Reading Instruc. Attended			Mean Hrs. Math Instruc. Attended		
CE Selection	with Reg. Teacher	with non-Reg. Teacher	in Class of 2-13	with Reg. Teacher	with non-Reg. Teacher	in class of 2-1
Title I	128.95	64.58	141.60	101.87	39.24	68.43
Other CE only	122.31	43.73	128.98	87.58	18.94	52.30
No CE	136.52	8.63	79.10	103.40	4.54	27.20

In addition, researchers conducting exploratory studies of small numbers of schools have found pullout to result in resegregation. Kimbrough and Hill (1981) observed racial segregation in Title I and ESAA (and special education and bilingual education) pullout programs. Brookover, Brady, and Warfield (1981) found resegregation (more than 15% higher minority group participation than minority group school enrollment) in Title I and state CE programs. Observations of samples of compensatory education students confirmed that they were pulled out from less to more racially segregated settings.

Due to minority overrepresentation in compensatory programs, combined with the reliance on pullout for CE services, minority students spend a greater amount of instructional time with special teachers and in small, more segregated groups.

The Relationship of Compensatory Programs to Desegregation

Several authors have noted an inherent tension between compensatory education and integrated education as strategies for increasing equality of educational opportunity. Compensation is seen as requiring the concentration of disadvantaged students for intensive remedial treatment, while integration relies on the dispersion of minority students among their more advantaged peers and in schools of better quality (Levin, 1978; Radin, 1978). This conflict

has been observed especially with regard to the operation of Title I programs in desegregating school systems, where students and schools may lose services due to changing patterns of attendance imposed by desegregation plans (Berke & Demarest, 1978; Thiemann & Deflaminis, 1978). This situation was ameliorated by changes in Title I eligibility criteria for students affected by desegregation, and by the use of ESAA funds for compensatory education for schools and students who lose Title I eligibility due to desegregation (NIE, 1977; Hawley & Barry, 1980). The point remains, however, that direct service compensatory programs may be difficult to implement simultaneously with desegregation without resulting in resegregation. The potential for resegregation through compensatory services is exacerbated in schools that operate several categorical programs and have substantial numbers of students who are eligible for more than one type of service. Typically, these schools place multiple eligible children in every program for which they qualify, resulting in numerous pull-outs or, in some cases, the establishment of a separate track based on compensatory program participation (Kimbrough & Hill, 1981).

Compensatory Education as a Programmatic Regularity

A fundamental value of the school system is the academic achievement of its students. It is from the commitment to enhanced academic achievement, especially for low achievers from poor families, that compensatory education has developed. As was noted in an earlier section, school personnel find it administratively easier and instructionally convenient to organize homogeneous groups of children for teaching purposes. Epstein (1980), in her study of factors associated with patterns of resegregation, found that compensatory programs are selected most often when perceived motivation is low and when other tracking procedures and teacher support services are part of the school program. The need to provide services to low-achievers is not questioned here; rather, the question which must be asked is: Why do school systems rely on

pullout, a resegregative technique, for delivery of such services?

Efficacy of pullout. As long as minority group students are disproportionately counted among the recipients of compensatory and other categorical services, pullout will result in a degree of resegregation. Whether or not this trade-off between compensation and integration is justified depends to no small extent on the educational efficacy of pullout programs. There are a number of grounds on which pullout could be expected to be an effective way to provide remedial services: instruction is given in a smaller group, usually by a specialist teacher; these two factors allow for more individualized and suitable instruction (NIE, 1976). On the other hand, pullout could have negative effects in addition to resegregation: pulled-out students may miss regular instruction in some part of the core curriculum; there may be conflicts between the content of regular and compensatory instruction; especially when students experience multiple pullouts, the result approaches a form of ability grouping for a large part of the day (NIE, 1976; Kimbrough & Hill, 1981).

Teachers' reports in evaluations of Title I indicate that while many pullouts take place during students' study periods, a substantial proportion replaces the remediated subject or some other core subject (NIE, 1976). Teachers and aides in one case study reported that most compensatory students missed regular reading or math, the subject for which they were pulled out (Brookover et al., 1981). Kimbrough and Hill (1981) also observed frequent instances of substitution of CE classes for regular ones in the same subject. In addition, they found that students in multiple pullout programs could miss regular instruction in some subjects, usually social studies and science, during most of their elementary school career.

The impact of compensatory programs on educational achievement has been a controversial subject since the earliest evaluations of Title I. Large scale evaluations in the early years of Title I consistently failed to show significant achievement gains for participating students (see McLaughlin, 1975, for discussion of these evaluation efforts). An alternative evaluation strategy has been to examine the characteristics of Title I projects identified as successful. One such study included among the common elements of success the use of small groups or individual instruction, specially trained teachers, and high treatment intensity, all characteristics associated with pullout (Hawkridge, Chalupsky, & Roberts, 1968, cited by McLaughlin, 1975). However, a later study by the Educational Testing Service indicated that pullout may not be the most effective approach. Although the ETS study found little difference in achievement gains between Title I and other students, there were differences within the Title I group. Compensatory students who were in reading classes with non-CE students gained more than those who were in separate reading classes (Rossi, McLaughlin, Campbell, & Everett. 1977).

More recent Title I evaluations have specifically addressed the issue of pullout vs. mainstream delivery of compensatory services, but with equivocal results. This is at least partially due to the near-universal use of pullout; there are few mainstream Title I programs to provide comparisons. The Instructional Dimensions Study included instructional setting (pullout vs. mainstream) as a variable and found significantly larger gains for mainstream students in first grade reading and math achievement and third grade reading achievement. Only 10% of that category, however, were receiving mainstream compensatory services (e.g., from a classroom aide or consultant teacher); the rest were non-Title I students (Poynor, 1977).

The most appropriate conclusion to draw from this research is that while pullout has not been supported on achievement grounds, no particular mainstream approach has been adequately evaluated to make any statement about its effects. In any event, the impact of pullout on achievement does not appear to offset its resegregative effects.

Reasons for pullout. If the educational efficacy of pullout does not provide an adequate rationale for its widespread use, what accounts for its predominance in Title I and other categorical programs? While neither the legislation nor the regulations stipulate the setting in which services are to be delivered, there are several requirements that make pullout seem the obvious way to achieve compliance:

1. Title I funds must not be co-mingled with other revenue sources, but rather spent on identifiable services.
2. The services must be provided only to the identified, eligible students within school (usually not all eligible students are served, due to the concentration requirement).
3. The services must "supplement, not supplant" the regular services provided to all students.

These provisions require that Title I provide a recognizable program for targeted students that is in addition to the regular school program. The easiest way for schools to do this has been to separate Title I students from others for the compensatory services. Ironically, this practice has resulted in a form of supplantation when students are pulled out from regular class instruction. Glass and Smith (1977) argue that this interpretation of Title I requirements has been encouraged by the enforcement posture of the U.S. Office of Education, which has placed strong emphasis on the targeting of funds and services. This predominant concern that only eligible children receive services was strengthened over the years due to the unfavorable evaluations of Title I

in its first 5 years, showing little impact on achievement and documenting misuse of funds (Glass & Smith, 1977). Descriptions of specific programs in desegregating districts provide examples of changes from classroom aides to pullout programs and of reductions in schools and students served in the early years of Title I implementation (U.S. Office of Education, 1974). In general, the monitoring and enforcement system has been tightened in recent years, with the result that instances of noncompliance in the use of Title I funds have become rare (Goettel, 1978). Local staff perceptions of why pullout is the norm support the conclusion that school districts see it as the easiest way to satisfy federal and state regulations (Brookover, et al., 1981).

An opposing view is that, in schools with sufficient concentrations of poor and low-achieving students, all students could benefit from compensatory services (Glass & Smith, 1977). Other ways of allocating Title I funds and providing services and their effects on use of pullout are discussed in the third chapter.

In summary. Compensatory programs are primarily designed to assist poor and low achieving children. As minority children are disproportionately represented in these groups, they are also disproportionately represented in compensatory programs. Since most compensatory aid is administered by pulling children out of regular classes for special instruction, the impact is to resegregate. Children in pull out programs spend a significant amount of time in more racially isolated settings; a substantial proportion have all their classes with other CE students. The resegregative effect of compensatory services are difficult to avoid because of a lack of alternative models and resources for service delivery and because of the need to adhere to Federal regulations about targeting aid.

Special Education Programs

The provision of special education services is based on the right to an education for all American children, including the handicapped. Of an estimated

7 million handicapped children, 1 million receive no services, and only 40% of the children are receiving the services they need (Weintraub & Abeson, 1976). It has been assumed that because handicapped children have special needs, special materials, instructional methods, and specially trained teachers are needed. These special services have generally been provided by grouping students according to their handicapping condition. Assignment to a special education class is usually based on a combination of standardized test results, subjective evaluations of school personnel, and parental consent. Because minority children are likely to perform at a lower level on standardized tests than do white children and are likely, as a group, to be more negatively perceived, they tend to be overrepresented in EMR classrooms.

The history of special education is marked by numerous legal suits: (1) to establish the right to an education for handicapped children, most notably PARC v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1971) and Mills v. Board of Education (District of Columbia) (1972), and (2) to establish nondiscriminatory practices for assignment to special education classes, Diana v. State Board of Education (California) (1970), Larry P. v. Riles (San Francisco) (1972, 1979), and PASE v. Hannon, et al. (Chicago) (1980).

Congress recognized the right to an education for handicapped children and their special educational needs in passing Public Law 93-380, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the subsequent Educational Amendments of 1974, in which it was declared that ". . . (it is) the policy of the United States of America that every citizen is entitled to an education to meet his or her full potential without financial barriers." P.L. 93-380 and the subsequent Educational Amendments provided the basis for Public Law 94-142, the Education for all Handicapped Children Act of 1975. P.L. 94-142 provides funds to states and local school districts for the delivery of special education services to children with physical, cognitive, and emotional handicaps. Federal financial assistance for special education had been available under previous legislation, but

P.L. 94-142 added considerable procedural specificity to existing requirements; in addition, its provisions are mandatory regardless of the level of actual appropriations. The law and regulations establish a comprehensive process for identifying, assessing, and placing handicapped children, including the following elements:

1. a free and appropriate public education for handicapped children,
2. placement in special education only following a nondiscriminatory comprehensive assessment, and retention in special education only if subsequent reevaluations (at least once every three years) confirm the continued need for special education,
3. due process for parents,
4. individual education program (IEP) designed to meet the child's needs,
5. special education services to be provided in the least restrictive environment (LRE).

Funds are allocated by a formula based on the number of handicapped children enrolled and the average per pupil excess cost of special education services. Only a small proportion of the excess cost has thus far been financed by P.L. 94-142 appropriations.

Advocate groups for handicapped citizens, notably the Council for Exceptional Children and the Association for Retarded Citizens, were instrumental in designing the legislation and winning its passage by near-unanimous votes in both houses of Congress. The success of these efforts was made possible, however, by judicial decisions that had already mandated most of the provisions of P.L. 94-142, the PARC and Mills cases. The court decisions gave equal educational opportunity for the handicapped a constitutional foundation; they also made state and local officials more receptive to federal legislation, since it would provide funds and set more uniform standards than would a continued series of lawsuits. No major educational organization went on record in opposition to the passage of the new law.

An additional impetus for P.L. 94-142 arose from the Diana and Larry P. cases in which the misclassification of minority children as retarded was

challenged. Decisions in these two cases laid the foundation for the nondiscriminatory assessment provisions of the legislation. This requirement plus the least restrictive environment (LRE) doctrine are the most important components of the law regarding racial and ethnic segregation in special education. While the general standard of appropriateness in assessment and service delivery of course encompasses the entire range of handicapping conditions, the legislative history of P.L. 94-142 indicates that the issues affecting minority group children were not the major concern of the dominant advocate groups. Rather, their emphasis was on the inclusion in public education of children who had historically been barred from school, the more severely handicapped.

P.L. 94-142 provides funding for students diagnosed as having speech impairment, orthopedic and sensory handicap, severe emotional disturbance, specific learning disability (LD) and mental retardation(MR). The last category has traditionally been further differentiated into three educationally relevant divisions: educable (EMR), trainable (TMR) and severe (SMR).

The more severe or more obvious handicapping conditions are fairly easily discernible. These include severe emotional disturbance, TMR, SMR and speech and physical handicaps. It is in the differentiations of the mildly handicapping conditions, EMR and LD, which rely heavily on judgments of school personnel that questions of resegregation arise.

Resegregation Through Special Education

The regular curriculum is organized in ways that lead to resegregation, but even more dramatic is the tendency for special education programs to become ghettos for minority children, particularly black children. The great disproportionality of black youngsters in special education classes, particularly the most stigmatizing educational EMR classes has been amply documented. The resegregative impact of this pattern is mitigated only by the comparatively small percentages of youngsters involved. Whereas most children will be affected by

school policies related to ability grouping and tracking, nationally about 5.9% of white students, 5.8% of Hispanos and about 8.4% of black students are assigned to all categories of special education. The figures for EMR assignment are about 1% of whites, 1% of Hispanos and 3.5% of blacks. There are also substantial regional variations (Center for National Policy Review, 1980).

Student assignment. The disproportionality of minority students in EMR classes was first brought to public attention in the Diana case in 1970. In this class action suit, the plaintiffs used disproportionality (two times as many Hispanic youngsters in EMR classes than would be expected given Hispanic enrollment in school) to support their claim that the use of standardized intelligence tests, administered in English, resulted in misclassification of Hispanic children. Diana was quickly followed by a similar class action suit, Larry P., on behalf of black children. The Larry P. plaintiffs produced similar data for black enrollment in EMR classes in California and even more disproportionality in San Francisco, the origin of the case.

The disproportional representation of black children in EMR classes across the nation has been clearly demonstrated since the Office of Civil Rights began collecting data on special education in 1973. The Children's Defense Fund (1974) analyzed 1973 OCR data for 505 school districts in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. They found that over 80% of the students in EMR classes were black, even though less than 40% of the total enrollment in these districts was black. Almost half (46%) of these 505 districts reported that 5% or more of their black students were in EMR classes, however only four districts reported that 5% or more of their white students were in EMR classes. In 190 of these districts (over 37%) the probability that a black student would be in an EMR class was five times as great as that for a white student; in ten districts, the probability was ten times as great.

Analyses of data from specific school districts have tended to reinforce

these general national patterns. The Columbus public schools' Report to the Federal District Court on the Status of Desegregation (1980), included data on enrollment in special education classes by type for 1979 and new enrollments between October, 1979 and January, 1980. They found some disproportionality with the most dramatic difference at the high school level.

In the metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County public schools, psychological services received 2,287 referrals from classroom teachers in the 1977-78 school year, 76% at the elementary school level. Of these, 58% were white, 31% black and 11% unknown or other. Psychologists tested 72% of the elementary children referred, served 10% without assessment and left 18% unserved. While the referral rate reflects the 31.2% of the metro school population which was black, 58% of the children in EMR classes were black (Cook, 1980).

There is a good deal of evidence to suggest a dramatic decline during the past decade in the overrepresentation of Hispanic students in EMR classes. Early 1970s data on Hispanic enrollment in EMR classes reflected the disproportionality presented in the Diana case. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974), in its six-volume study investigating barriers to equal educational opportunity for Mexican Americans in the public schools of the Southwest, reported that Hispanos were twice as likely to be placed in EMR classes in Texas and 2½ times as likely in California. These two states, which were the only ones to record ethnicity of EMR students, enrolled more than 80% of the total number of Mexican American students in the Southwest.

Carter (1970a) reported a relationship between the enrollment of Hispanos in EMR classes with their overall enrollment in the school systems. In comparing ten districts with low Hispanic enrollment, he found that the larger the Mexican American percentage within the school district, the more likely they were to be considered retarded. In the districts with an average Hispanic enroll-

ment of 15%, 30% were in EMR classes. In districts which averaged 2.8% Hispanic, 3.6% were in EMR classes.

More recent reports lead to the conclusion that nationally the overrepresentation of Hispanic children in EMR classes may be declining. Carter and Segura (1979) reported California State Department of Education survey data which document that between 1969 and 1977 there has been a dramatic decrease in the disproportion of Hispanic students in EMR classes. Similar patterns were noted in the placement of Hispanos in EMR classes in Texas. It should be noted that this decline of Hispanic placement in EMR classes in the Southwest has not been accompanied by a similar decline in the disproportion of black students in EMR classes in these states.

Aspira (1979b) reorganized and reanalyzed the 1968-76 data from OCR, focusing attention on school districts having 3,000 or more pupils and at least a five percent Hispanic enrollment. Less than five percent of all districts in the nation met the combined criteria. As part of this study they focused on Hispanic enrollment in special education. They concluded that nationally the percent of Hispanic enrollment in EMR classes was lower than that of non-Hispanic enrollment. However, Hispanic participation in EMR classes was greater than that of non-Hispanics in desegregated East Coast schools and was consistently higher in Southwest schools. Thus, though there has been a decline in disproportion overall, Hispanos continue to be overrepresented in EMR classes in school districts having substantial Hispanic enrollment.

A recent analysis of OCR data verifies that black children continue to be disproportionately represented in EMR classes. Nationally they are about 3½ times as likely as white students to be placed in such classes; in the South, the figures are closer to 4½ to 1. This report also confirms the

trend in the decline of Hispanic enrollment in EMR classes indicating that Hispanos are no longer overrepresented in EMR classes nationally (Center for National Policy Review, 1980).

The disproportionate representation of minorities in LD classes is not nearly so dramatic as for EMR classes. While the proportion of black enrollment in LD classes exceeded that of the school enrollment in Nashville this has not been the case nationally. The Columbus report (1980) indicated a slightly smaller percentage of minority students in LD classes than in the total school enrollment. The Center for National Policy Review (1980) found that black students were slightly less likely to be categorized as LD nationally and dramatically less so in the Northeast and Midwest. In the Northeast, the ratio of blacks to whites in LD programs was .67/1.00; in the Midwest, the figures were .75/1.00. In contrast, Hispanos tend to be slightly overrepresented in classes for LD nationally (Aspira, 1979b; Center for National Policy Review, 1980).

In summary. More blacks are assigned to special education than any other racial or ethnic group. Blacks tend to be greatly overrepresented in EMR classes and underrepresented in LD classes. Hispanic overrepresentation in EMR classes is declining, but they tend to be slightly overrepresented in LD classes. Since LD classification is generally conceived to be less stigmatizing than EMR to children so labeled, the disproportionate number of black students assigned to the more stigmatizing program raises some serious questions about the evaluation and assignment of black children in special education classes. The decline in the proportion of Hispanic children in EMR classes may reflect a change in assessment procedures which eliminates the obviously unfair technique of testing a Spanish-speaking child with an English IQ

test. Their slight overrepresentation in LD classes may reflect ambiguity in the definition of LD, especially as it relates to the understanding of the impact of having Spanish as a first language in a predominantly English-speaking educational system. The movement of minority children out of special education does not necessarily reduce the overall resegregation of these children within the school; they may be moved out of EMR classes into a largely segregated low ability group class or into equally segregated bilingual education programs.

Program organization. Special education services, like ability grouping and compensatory education can be organized in ways that are more or less resegregative. P.L. 94-142 requires placement of handicapped children in the least restrictive environment (LRE), that is, handicapped children should be educated with their normal peers to the greatest extent possible. In practice, the options of placement generally available in schools are, from the least restrictive to the most restrictive: resource room service, part-time special class, full-time special class, and special day school. Resource room services are often limited in scope, for example, some school districts allow a maximum of one hour per day of resource help. Children classified as EMR are generally placed in full-time special classes. Children classified as LD may receive resource help or full-time placement, depending on the perceived severity of the learning disability.

Furthermore, Gallagher (1972) points out that ". . . in a number of large city school systems far less than ten percent of the children placed in special education classes are ever returned to regular education." Judge Peckham, in the Larry P. case, indicated that assignment of black children to EMR classes is [illegible]ally harmful in that EMR classes are dead-end placements.

In the early years of implementation of P.L. 94-142, state education departments and local school districts were primarily concerned with the identification of eligible children and the establishment of IEP and due process procedures (Hargrove, Graham, Ward, Abernethy, Cunningham, & Vaughn, 1981; Stearns, Green, & David, 1980). Implementing the LRE provision has received less attention. The Office of Special Education has been criticized for lax enforcement of a number of P.L. 94-142 requirements, including the continued high placement rates of black children in EMR programs (Educational Advocates Coalition, 1980). There have been coordination problems between OSE and the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Education, which monitors minority placement rates in special education under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Although OSE has a considerably broader mandate for monitoring and enforcement of P.L. 94-142 than does OCR, which primarily responds to individual complaint, OSE has been criticized as being slow to use the OCR data and to investigate disproportionate minority placement rates as long as the general procedures of P.L. 94-142 appear to have been followed (Education Advocates Coalition, 1980).

The Relationship of Special Education Programs to Desegregation

For a number of reasons, it is difficult to determine if special education assignments for black children have increased with desegregation. Are such assignments being used systematically to resegregate within desegregated schools? One problem is that data on special education by race was not systematically gathered nationally before 1973. In the South, where disproportionate assignment is greatest, desegregation preceded this period. In the past decade there has been increased attention given to special education programs and provision of additional resources for special education, and this has in many cases coincided with the process of desegregation. In school districts where

an increase in special education placement occurred simultaneously with desegregation, it is difficult to determine the extent to which this is in response to desegregation or a response to an increased focus on special education assignment. This is especially true when there is no racial data preceding desegregation.

There is some evidence that special education assignment for black children may increase immediately after busing to integrate, that it may be a specific response to desegregation. For example, during the first year of court-ordered desegregation in the Omaha public schools in 1976 and 1977, teacher initiated referrals increased 50%. This was almost entirely accounted for by black children who had been bused to previously all white schools (Galusha, 1980; Watkins, 1980). Because referral is the first step in the process of special education placement, the year following implementation of a desegregation busing plan may be a high-risk time for consideration of black children to special education. Columbus, Ohio reported a slight increase in special education assignment in the two years following implementation (Columbus Public Schools, 1979, 1980, 1981).

In most of the nation, school districts under court-ordered school desegregation plans are somewhat less likely to have a high proportion of their black students in EMR programs than those under voluntary plans of desegregation. This suggests that districts under court order are more likely to be sensitive to issues of resegregation than those that are not specifically directed to be so under court order. In the South, which has the greatest percentage of students in schools under some form of desegregation plan, the difference in percentages is very small. This is the area of the country where the largest proportion of blacks are in EMR classes and the type of desegregation plan appears to have least effect (Center for National Policy Review, 1980).

When comparing schools along a continuum of segregation, a decreasing percentage of blacks and an increasing percentage of whites are identified as EMR when moving along the continuum from intensely white to intensely black schools (Center for National Policy Review, 1980).

Little is known about the effects of desegregation on assignment of Hispanic children to special education. The Aspira (1979b) study which addressed the question of Hispanic student assignment to special education as it related to the degree of segregation of the school district found distinct regional differences in this relationship. In the Southwest, Hispanic assignment to EMR classes was lowest in the least segregated districts. For the remaining areas the reverse was true; Hispanic participation in EMR classes was lowest in highly segregated districts. In contrast, they found no relationship between segregation and Hispanic enrollment in LD classes except in the Midwest where Hispanic participation in LD classes decreased as the level of segregation increased.

The Persistance of Special Education as a Programmatic Regularity

The resegregation of minority children via full-time placement of these children in special education classes (especially EMR) calls to question the effectiveness of this organizational practice. Researchers studying the effectiveness of differing organizations of service delivery in special education have generally compared the effectiveness of special classes to mainstreaming of EMR children. Several excellent reviews are available (cf., Abramson, 1980; Corman & Gottlieb, 1978; Semmel, Gottlieb, & Robinson, 1979) thus only the basic conclusion of these reviewers is shared here: researchers have failed to show a difference in achievement of students placed in full-time EMR classes and those who have been mainstreamed.

If special classes are not effective, then why do schools persist in this

organization? The range of diversity which teachers encounter with mainstreamed EMR students is very great. There are very real, and educationally important, differences between the child with an IQ of 60 (EMR range) and the child with an IQ of 140 (gifted range). The regular teacher may not have the knowledge or technical facilities which would support an appropriate educational program for these children. Furthermore, special classes are the administratively easiest means by which to provide services to groups of children which had not been routinely served by the schools.

For many years, the schools had excluded handicapped children from their programs. Inclusion of these children is now mandated. Even if states or school districts should elect not to participate in the P.L. 94-142 program and subsequent funding they must abide by the regulations promulgated by the Office of Civil Rights under Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which contains many of the same provisions.

Bilingual Education Programs

> Very few activities in public affairs are more confusing and politically charged than are bilingual education and school desegregation. Both involve the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of state and national government. Both are seen by the public as having major social, as well as educational implications. Neither are well understood by practitioners nor the public in general. Much heat but little light is being generated. (Carter, 1979)

Bilingual education programs are based on the value of equal benefit from educational opportunities. Given equal access to English-based instruction, the limited-English proficient (LEP) student does not have the same opportunity for learning as do English proficient students. The magnitude of the need for bilingual education is difficult to gauge in that there are no accurate counts of the number of LEP children (Thernstrom, 1980) and that there are varying degrees of language proficiency in both languages of LEP children (Alexander & Nana, 1977). The majority of students in need of bilingual education

are Hispanic, though a significant proportion of Hispanic children who need special language services are not enrolled in such programs. "Indeed, among the 12 states where the need for bilingual programs is the greatest, only one-third to two-thirds of the Hispanic children are being served" (Fernandez & Guskin, 1981). Though bilingual programs are not reaching all of those children needing services, those children who do participate tend to find bilingual programs segregative experiences. Bilingual-bicultural programs were mandated with the hope of remedying English language deficiencies that lead to low achievement and high drop-out rates for LEP youngsters which also have a resegregative effect.

Though local school districts have had bilingual education programs since the middle of the 19th century (Thernstrom, 1980), it is its recent history which has established bilingual education as a programmatic regularity in the schools. The need for bilingual education has resulted in mandates from the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of government.

The judicial mandates for bilingual education are very much intertwined with Hispanic desegregation efforts. The frequently cited basis for segregation of Hispanos was their English language deficiencies and the special needs those deficiencies created. Since 1970, courts have included bilingual programs as components in desegregation plans (Cisneros v. Corpus Christi, 1970; U.S. v. Texas, San Felipe Del Rio, 1972; Milliken v. Bradley, 1974; Arvizu v. Waco Independent School District, 1974) and more recently mandated bilingual programs but prohibited the maintenance of the predominately Hispanic schools in which they would be implemented (Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, 1975; Otero v. Mesa County Valley School District No. 51, 1975).

The judicial landmark in bilingual education was the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in Lau v. Nichols (1974). The Court found that the San

Francisco Unified School District had violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by denying the district's Chinese-speaking students a "meaningful opportunity to participate in the educational programs." They maintained that there is not equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education. The mandate was for special programs to assist students with English-language deficiencies to benefit from educational programs. The Lau decision was cited as precedent for subsequent court decisions regarding bilingual education for Hispanic students (Serna v. Portales Municipal Schools, New Mexico, 1974; Aspira of N.Y. Inc. v. Board of Education of N.Y., 1974). In the most recent case involving bilingual education, the court ruled that having an ineffective program is the same as having no program, and therefore is a violation of Lau (Rios v. Read, 1977).

Congress first addressed the special needs of LEP children in the passage of Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1968. Though titled the "Bilingual Education Act" no mention of bilingual education was made in the statute, rather "new and imaginative . . . school programs designed to meet these special education needs" (Section 702) were eligible for funding. The eligible participants were limited to non-English speaking students (LES/NES) having a home language other than English, a low family income, and a record of low achievement. Title VII was subsequently renewed and revised in 1974 and 1978. The revisions of the act in these two years expanded the act to: (1) include a broader range of participants, by focusing on English proficiency rather than speech alone, by dropping the low income requirement, and by allowing inclusion of up to 40% enrollment of English-proficient students; and (2) become more specific in the types of acceptable programs, by requiring "bilingual/bicultural education programs" rather than

the "new and imaginative" programs originally mandated. Additionally, the ESAA contained a separate provision for bilingual education.

Congress also passed the Equal Opportunity Act (1974) which stated:

> No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impeded equal participation by its students in its instructional programs (Section 1703.f).

Proposed rules and regulations for the Equal Opportunity Act were not published until the last months of President Carter's administration in the fall of 1980. These highly controversial guidelines were opposed by opponents and proponents of bilingual education for differing reasons, and were withdrawn as the first official action of President Reagan's new Secretary of Education Terrell Bell (Department of Education, 1980; Bell . . ., 1981).

Concurrently, the Office of Civil Rights and the Office of Education were (1) developing guidelines for school districts delivering services to LEP students, and (2) engaging in subsequent monitoring activities. The first bilingual mandate from the executive branch was in the form of a memorandum, applying Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and providing directives from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to school districts having substantial LEP student populations. This document, which became known as the "May 25th Memorandum," required schools to remediate "language deficiencies in order to open their instructional programs to limited-English-speaking students" (Pattinger, 1970). The executive mandate was further clarified by the development of guidelines prepared by an OCR task force, adopted by OCR and USOE, and issued in the summer of 1975 (Epstein, 1977). These guidelines, known as the "Lau Remedies," required school districts having 20 or more children from one language group to provide bilingual-bicultural education programs for children who solely or primarily speak that native language. Since OCR began applying

the Lau Remedies in 1975, it has negotiated nearly 500 local agreements based on those guidelines (Stanfield, 1980). Critics of the Lau Remedies contend that these guidelines go beyond the judicial mandate of Lau, in that: (1) Lau addressed the needs of students having linguistic deficiencies in English whereas the Remedies defined eligible students by their primary or home language, and (2) Lau required "something special" in meeting the needs of LES/NES students whereas the Remedies specified bilingual-bicultural education.

In addition to federal mandates, local school districts must also respond to their state mandates; 22 states have enacted bilingual education legislation (Brisk, 1978).

If there is one thing that stands out from this review, it is that "(t)he two mandates (bilingual education and desegregation) are rife with imprecise definitions, political interpretations, government jargon and educanto, and advocacy for varying interpretations" (Carter, 1979).

Models of Bilingual Education

Programs to assist LEP students are designed in a variety of ways with different implications for ethnic isolation. Approaches range along a continuum from English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) classes to fully developed bilingual-bicultural-bicognitive educational programs. The basis of ESL is that of teaching English as a foreign language (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972), with the rationale that techniques other than immersion are necessary to assist the LEP child in gaining the English language proficiency necessary to have a successful educational experience.

Bilingual education encompasses a variety of programs including bilingual, bilingual-bicultural, or bilingual-bicultural-bicognitive education programs. Title VII as amended defines bilingual education as "instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part or all of the school curriculum." While recognizing the need to become proficient

in English, bilingual education is also based on the rationale that students learn best when taught in their native language and that LEP students should have the opportunity to keep pace with their English-speaking peers who are learning other subjects.

When the study of the history and culture associated with a students' mother tongue is included in a bilingual program, bilingual-bicultural education results. A few proponents of comprehensive bilingual programs argue that LEP students have developed different cognitive styles as a result of their socialization experiences and thus should be taught using teaching styles and strategies different from their English proficient peers. This is termed bilingual-bicultural-bicognitive education, and has obvious implications for segregation (Lopez, 1978; Ramirez, 1973; Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974).

The resegregative impact of a bilingual program will depend not only on its instructional focus but also on the goals for the program. Policy makers have generally mandated transitional programs designed to prepare LEP students to learn effectively in the regular school program. Most proponents of bilingual education and Hispanic communities espouse a desire for maintenance programs to develop equal competence in both languages as well as fostering a bicultural identity.

The resegregative impact of a maintenance orientation might be softened if English speaking students were active participants and developed proficiency in the second language; this would create a two-way rather than one-way program. In such programs, children who were initially monolingual in English would have the advantage of bilingual competency. The programs would be viewed as "alternative" rather than "remedial." While bilingual programs were initiated to meet the needs of LEP students, nearly every bilingual statute provides for the voluntary enrollment of non-national-origin-minority students (Cohen, 1969).

Most programs are designed to be transitional. Theoretically, transitional programs may be one-way or two-way; however, in practice, a transitional program is usually regarded as "remedial" and is not attractive to non-Hispanos.

Resegregation Through Bilingual Education

At this time it is impossible to test the hypothesis that bilingual education results in resegregation due to an overwhelming lack of data. Neither the Office of Bilingual Education nor the National Clearinghouse on Bilingual Education could supply reports regarding the nature of students in bilingual education or the organizational patterns used by schools in delivering bilingual education services. Thus, the conclusion that bilingual education is resegregative is based on limited data and consideration of the definition of bilingual education programs.

Student assignment. While a school may offer bilingual programs for several linguistic groups, these groups are separated for obvious instructional purposes. For example, bilingual programs in Vietnamese are separate from bilingual programs in Spanish. The majority of students enrolled in bilingual programs are Hispanic; estimates range from 70 to 84 percent (Aspira, 1979b; Department of Education, 1980; Epstein, 1977; Fernandez & Guskin, 1981; Stanfield, 1980). Federal rules and regulations for Title VII bilingual programs allow a maximum of 40% enrollment of English-speaking students; however, they fund only LEP students. The California state bilingual education law, the Chacon Act, requires that no more than 2/3 of the students in a bilingual education program be LES (limited-English-speaking). This act appears to endorse two-way bilingual education by involving non-LEP students; however, Carter (1979) points out that 90% of the children in California's Spanish-English programs are Hispanos, concluding that the vast majority of English-speakers are Mexican Americans. He further comments:

> No data are available to discern to what extent English-speaking children are enrolled in Title VII classes. It is suspected that the majority of those English-speaking children enrolled are English-speaking Hispanos rather than Anglos or blacks.

Epstein (1977) noted that it has been common practice to assign students to bilingual education programs on the basis of surnames rather than language need. Such an assignment practice would, by definition, constitute discrimination and segregation.

The only wide-scale research on bilingual education was conducted by the American Institute for Research (1977-78), the "AIR study," under contract with the U.S. Office of Education. According to their analysis, which combined ESL and bilingual education classes, 75% of the children in Title VII classes were Hispanic and only 16% of these were judged to be monolingual-Spanish. The researchers asked teachers to rate the children in bilingual classes according to their English speaking abilities; their results are presented in Table 2.12.

TABLE 2.12

Percent of Children in Title VII Classes Due to LES-Ability (As Judged by Their Teachers)

Grade	Percent
2	35
3	30
4	29
5	19
6	27

On the average, less than 1/3 of the children, grades 2-6, in Title VII Spanish-English classes were LES. This led AIR researchers to conclude that Title VII classes were <u>not</u> primarily vehicles to teach non-English-speaking students substantive subject matter while they acquired English, rather they were separate classrooms for Hispanic children. It should be noted that at that time of the AIR study, the target population for Title VII bilingual programs was limited and non-English-speaking (LES/NES) students whereas the current target population is LEP students, encompassing such English skills as

reading and writing as well as speaking abilities. The need for bilingual education for LEP students is not denied. However, the degree to which Hispanic students are assigned to bilingual education programs without regard to linguistic needs causes one to question bilingual education as a resegregative practice.

Program organization. The degree to which bilingual programs are resegregative may depend on how they are organized and administered. Thernstrom (1980), reflecting on the AIR study, commented: "One reason the programs served such a high percentage of English-competent students was because transfers out of Title VII classrooms were rare." Indeed, 86% of the students remained in bilingual programs although judged to be competent in English. Only 9% were transferred to English-speaking classes while receiving some continued support for Spanish maintenance; and only another 5% were totally transferred to English-speaking classes. Thus, in practice, many programs espousing transition goals do not implement transition, in turn creating Hispanic tracks within the school.

The potential for resegregation through bilingual education is very much a function of the model and/or goals of the program as they interact with time spent in the program. Title VII rules and regulations mandate that, at the very least, students in bilingual programs join their English-speaking peers for nonacademic activities and courses which require little or no English such as music, art, and physical education. Time spent in special language classes may range from an hour a few times a week to full-day bilingual programs.

The preferences of schools for time allotments has been neither systematically recorded nor analyzed. No data are available regarding the amount of time students are in ESL or bilingual classes. Thus, one must examine the organizational structure of bilingual programs from a theoretical perspective in order to demonstrate the potential for resegregation.

ESL classes are, by definition, limited to LEP students; thus enrollment

is likely to be 100% Hispanic. However, time spent in ESL is generally less than that spent in bilingual education programs. Some schools offer an ESL "entry program," which is an intensive full-time ESL course followed by transfer to English-speaking classes as soon as possible. In such instances, content areas are not taught until the child becomes English-proficient. Other schools offer ESL classes concurrently with participation in English-speaking classes. Participation in such programs may vary from a few hours per week to as much as half the school day. Approximately half of the programs in the Aspira (1979b) study were ESL only.

The other models of bilingual education may have transition or maintenance goals and may be one-way or two-way. Participation in such bilingual programs may be for any part or all of the school day. Theoretically, one would expect transition programs to segregate students for a lesser period of the students' educational career than would maintenance programs. However, as noted, transition may not be implemented.

Carter and Segura (1979) indicated that nine out of ten bilingual education projects in the Southwest are transitional, and that 90% of the children served are Mexican-American. Thus, transitional programs tend to be resegregative, but theoretically only until the child becomes English-proficient. In an attempt to promote transition, the New Jersey Bilingual Education Act limits student participation to three years.

One-way maintenance programs for Hispanics only are equivalent to the establishment of a dual educational system. Two-way programs are, by definition, integrated. Two-way bilingual programs are more likely to be viewed as "alternative education programs," rather than having the remedial nature inherently attributed to transitional bilingual programs, thus drawing participation of non-Hispanos. However, few two-way maintenance programs exist.

The degree to which any of these programs, regardless of model, goals, or participants, is resegregative is very much a function of time spent within the program. Thus, resegregation via bilingual education is a function of student assignment practices and program organization. In summary:

> Existing bilingual programs do not operate in a truly bilingual setting. The typical program enrolls only about one-tenth Anglos and small numbers of blacks. Hispanic children . . . tend to be channeled into the programs even if they could function in English-language classes and kept in them when they could be in the normal curriculum. About two-thirds of the children in the program are not assigned because of limited English-speaking ability, and only one program in 20 transfers a child to an all-English program when he or she could handle it. (Orfield, 1977, p. 87)

The Relationship of Bilingual Education to Desegregation

As mentioned in Chapter One, the relationship of bilingual education and desegregation is best represented by an analogy to the "double-edged sword," i.e., while bilingual education may be a resegregative threat to desegregation, desegregation may be a threat to the integrity of bilingual education programs.

In the Aspira (1979b) nationwide study of schools having sizeable Hispanic enrollment, the researchers found that students who may need bilingual education or ESL were more likely to participate in these programs in highly segregated school systems. Of the students possibly needing special language instruction: 47% in low segregated (desegregated?) districts received bilingual education or ESL as compared to 57% in relatively high segregated systems. They concluded, "(i)t appears that segregation highlights the need for special language programs, serves as an incentive for implementing these programs, and facilitates provision of the programs."

"In several cases since 1974, the very existence of ongoing bilingual bicultural programs has been seriously threatened by the imminence of a school desegregation decree" (Cohen, 1975). This threat is usually manifested in the proposed application of strict ratios in the student assignment plan

(Fernandez & Guskin, 1981). Thus, Hispanic involvement in recent desegregation cases has been at the remedy stage in attempts to preserve the integrity of bilingual programs (Fernandez & Guskin, 1981); such was the case in Milwaukee (see Baez, Fernandez, & Guskin, 1980) and Boston (see Aspira, 1980; Brisk, 1975).

In an attempt to specify the effects of desegregation on bilingual education, Aspira, Inc. (1979a) conducted an ethnographic study in two school districts (unnamed) on the East and West coasts. Both of these districts were tri-ethnic communities with a total minority enrollment under 50% (15-25% Hispanic, less than 30% black) and a total school enrollment between 20,000 and 150,000. Both districts were in their second year of court-ordered desegregation. The researchers from Aspira spent four months of field work concentrated on selected elementary schools within each district. Their ethnographic techniques included observations and interviews of school personnel and community members. Though both districts were encountering difficulties with the simultaneous implementation of bilingual education and desegregation, their difficulties were quite different. In "Eastville":

> (t)here are problems associated with "mainstreaming" or returning a child to the regular classroom (from bilingual classrooms). As soon as a child demonstrates (English) proficiency he or she is mainstreamed and encounters rapid and grammatically complex English. In addition, the mainstreamed child loses the warmth and congeniality of the ESL or bilingual class. The abrupt transition is not demonstrating good results (p. 92).

Though school administrators in "Westville" reported that desegregation had had "no effect" on the bilingual education program, the Aspira researchers found that desegregation had resulted in the following: (1) dispersion and reassignment of bilingual students and teachers; (2) some bilingual teaching teams had been broken up and forced to reorganize; (3) bilingual teachers and education were not accepted in new schools; and (4) K-6 neighborhood school

boundaries had been redrawn, resulting in so much dispersal that bilingual education was on an individual "pull out" basis for all K-6 schools, whereas organized group programs had existed prior to implementation of desegregation. In general, they concluded that "court ordered desegregation plans at times curtailed specially targeted minority programs (e.g., bilingual education, early childhood education) . . . (because) they depend on a critical mass of students in schools to meet federal guidelines for funding" (p. 10). Furthermore, school desegregation had not enhanced the understanding of the Hispanic community by white administrators or teachers and that Hispanic students were less likely to come into contact with a supportive learning environment given desegregation. Finally, they commented that there were divergent goals for bilingual education; whites wanted transition programs and Hispanos wanted maintenance programs. Fernandez and Guskin (1978) summarized the situation: "Dispersing students . . . and not providing them with similar services in desegregated schools will place an undue burden on these children, is educationally unsound and indicates that the desegregation plan is not appropriate for the multi-ethnic/multilingual population in the district" (p. 62).

Carter (1979) suggested that desegregation need not become a threat to bilingual education. He noted the increasingly popular movement from desegregation addressing the racial balance of schools toward ethnic/racial isolation, an approach that would allow a critical mass of LEP students to be assigned to particular schools rather than evenly dispersed throughout a district. Furthermore he argues with regard to bilingual education and desegregation that "only lack of creativity and lack of commitment deter implementation of bilingual programs in racially balanced schools" (Carter, 1979). The compatibility of bilingual education and desegregation are explored in greater depth in Chapters Three and Four.

Bilingual Education as a Programmatic Regularity

Agreement that "something" needs to be done to assist the LEP students in English-speaking schools leads one to question the efficacy of bilingual education. "One-half billion dollars were spent on bilingual education in the ten years from 1968-1978; less than one-half of one percent was for research, with the result that we have very little more of a research base for bilingual education than we did over ten years ago" (Troike, 1978). "Not only is there a limited amount of educational research on bilingual education, but research findings on the accomplishment of bilingual education are almost nonexistent. The few studies that are available lack adequate depth, scope, time and methodology to provide a valid measurement of the outcomes of bilingual education" (Cardenas, 1977).

The most frequently cited study of the effectiveness of bilingual education was conducted by the American Institute for Research (1977-78), entitled "Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Programs," and known as the AIR study. (For summaries of the AIR study, see Cardenas, 1977; Carter and Segura, 1979; Epstein, 1977; Thernstrom, 1980.) In brief, the study contrasted the performance of two groups of students: (1) those enrolled in Title VII bilingual programs, and (2) "comprarable" students not enrolled in such programs. The students were pretested in the fall of 1975 and posttested in the spring of 1976. The AIR researchers concluded: (1) non-Title VII students did better than Title VII students in English language arts (both groups generally either maintained or improved their percentile ranks--both groups at about the bottom 20% of the nation), (2) Title VII students did better than non-Title VII students in math (both groups either maintained or improved their percentile rank--both at about the bottom 30% of the nation), (3) Title VII students (including Anglos) showed an increase

from pretest to posttest in Spanish reading (non-Title VII students were not tested), and (4) there was no difference in school attitude associated with participation in bilingual education.

The AIR study has not gone without criticism. The Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA) (see Cardenas, 1977) argued that. The AIR researchers did not distinguish among the varied program characteristics, such as model (ESL or bilingual), goals (maintenance or transitional), instructional time, content, and methodologies. Though the comparison groups may have been comparable on ethnicity and SES, they had varying degrees of English proficiency (75% of the Title VII students classified by their teachers as either English-dominant or bilingual English-dominant as compared to 96% of non-Title VII students); yet the researchers did not take English-proficiency into account as a variable in their research design. Theoretically the interim between pre- and posttests was a school year, yet in reality, in almost 50% of the schools, the time from pre- to posttest was five months or less. Finally, about one-third of the non-Title VII teachers and aides were involved in a bilingual program; "This raises the possibility that the comparable group had 'bilingual treatments,' thus invalidating them as a comparison." Troike (1978) admits that the AIR study does have its weaknesses, but suggests that it not be dismissed, rather it should be viewed as a challenge to improve bilingual-bicultural education.

The effectiveness of bilingual education fared better in reviews by Paulston, Belkin, Graham and Williams (1977) and Troike (1978). The Paulston review concluded: (1) in overall English language arts, the bilingually-instructed groups scored as well as, or higher than, the groups receiving English-only

instruction, (2) furthermore, they scored higher in Spanish language arts, (3) bilingually-instructed students did as well as, or better than, control groups in math achievement, and (4) after two-to-three years of bilingual instruction, students' bicultural attitudes were more positive than earlier and bilingually-taught children showed self-concepts as positive as, and, more often, more positive than, English-instructed students, stay in school longer, and learn English better than their English-instructed peers.

Troike (1978) criticized evaluation reports submitted by Title VII programs as "worthless" as a research base in that they do not control for socioeconomic status or initial language proficiency of the students, often lack baseline data for the control group, fail to identify significant differences in teacher qualifications for control and experimental groups, and provide insufficient data/or statistics.

Aspira (1980) criticized the state of research on the effectiveness of bilingual education programs, citing many of the same problems as Troike. They added, however, that "bilingual education is expected to do (or re-do) in one or two years what America's educational system has not accomplished in many of its monolingual English schools, without having to overcome language barriers (e.g., fifth grade Spanish monolinguals expected to attain fifth grade level English!)" (p. 84).

Orfield (1977) concluded: "Reading the existing research on bilingualism makes one point very clear--we do not know enough to make any confident global prescriptions . . . (p)robably we eventually will discover that there is no single best answer and that bilingualism works well only for certain purposes in certain settings" (p. 88).

The growing numbers of Hispanic LEP students enrolled in the schools almost assures that bilingual education will continue to be a programmatic regularity.

Currently LEP students are underserved. If the language needs of these students are being recognized, what then accounts for the fairly low level of services to these students? One possible reason is the shortage of qualified bilingual teachers--a fact on which almost all authors would agree, though "nobody knows how severe the teacher . . . shortages are" (Epstein, 1977, p. 12). Furthermore, the nature of the qualifications of many bilingual teachers have been brought to question. Cardenas (1977) reported that the "IDRA's secondary analysis of the AIR data shows that only 25% of teachers participating in the study reported having a bilingual teaching credential." Waggoner (1979) found that (1) teachers using a non-English language appear to have been assigned on the basis of language skills alone, (2) fewer than half had had even one course in bilingual education, and (3) only 14% had preparation in (a) teaching the language arts of a non-English language, (b) teaching other subject areas through it, (c) studies related to cultural background, and/or (d) teaching ESL.

There have been varying reports regarding the bilingual teachers' Spanish proficiency. Carter and Segura (1979) reported that approximately two-thirds of the teachers and almost all of the aides indicated that they spoke both English and Spanish in their homes. Waggoner (1979) found that 42% of the bilingual teachers were native speakers of that language. In contrast, Cardenas (1977) noted that almost half of the Title VII teachers in the AIR study admitted to not being proficient in Spanish, that 92% of the "bilingual" staff in one major city were monolingual English, and that in another community, teachers were certified as bilingual with a minimum proficiency of 750 words in Spanish. Epstein (1977) described a study of the Spanish competency of bilingual teachers and aides in New Mexico, reporting that "only 13 of 136 could read and write Spanish at the third grade level" as measured on Mexican tests of standard

third grade curriculum. The Spanish proficiency of the teacher is very important in that Merino, Politzer and Ramirez (1979) demonstrated that teachers' and aides' scores on Spanish proficiency tests were significantly related to pupil gains in English reading. Furthermore, only the teachers' proficiency in Spanish predicted pupil gains in Spanish reading.

In addition to their linguistic abilities and preparation for bilingual instruction, bilingual teachers must have an understanding of the importance and nature of biculturalism: "The great majority fail to recognize the overwhelming influence of culture on personality and behavior, have extremely limited knowledge of or contact with (Hispanos); and do not grasp the role and function of the American school in general society or recognize its influence on the ethnically different child" (Carter, 1970b).

Since 1974, approximately $25 million has been allocated annually by the federal government for training of bilingual teachers/aides (Epstein, 1977); however, when Walsh (1976) conducted a national survey of teacher training institutions which offer teacher preparation programs in bilingual education, only 18 were identified. Carter (1970b) stressed the need for teacher training institutions to meet the needs of their communities. He offered the example of the University of Texas at El Paso which graduates 450 teachers a year, about 75% of which stay in the general geographic area (an area of over 50% Mexican Americans). That institution <u>required</u> coursework pertinent to the question of the education of Chicanos.

<u>In summary</u>. Bilingual education is a programmatic regularity of the schools designed to meet the needs of LEP students. The degree to which bilingual education is effective has been questioned. However, the authors of two recent literature reviews conclude that bilingual education has resulted in enhanced achievement and self-concept for the Hispanic youngster. The growing number

of LEP Hispanic students coupled with a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers tends to exacerbate the problem of delivering adequate services to LEP students.

Reasons Resegregation Occurs

Desegregated schools resegregate in academic programs when they organize instruction around structures which separate students into homogeneous groups. In the first section of this chapter we have reviewed four major programmatic regularities which are resegregative in practice: (1) ability grouping and tracking, (2) compensatory education, (3) special education, and (4) bilingual education. In order to understand why resegregation occurs, it is necessary to take a closer look at student assignment practices and program organization. This section will discuss the relationship of race and ethnicity to the processes of pupil assignment, will examine resegregative organizational patterns and note the special problems created by the multiplication of categorical programs.

Student assignment to any of these programs generally involves a complex process of objective and subjective evaluations which include standardized testing, professional judgments about educational performance and behavior and, in some cases, student and parent choice.

The Effects of Standardized Testing on Resegregation

Ability and achievement testing are the major tools for assigning students to homogeneous groups. Findley and Bryan (1971) reported that 82% of districts polled used test scores for placement, many of them as the sole means of determination. Tests have been used for this purpose because they provide what appears to be an objective, simple, and cheaply administered way to assess students and compare them to one another.

While group achievement tests are used for ability grouping, group IQ

tests were banned for this purpose in Hobson v. Hansen (1969). Group achievement, aptitude, and interest tests are used for vocational and educational counseling and tracking. Individual intelligence, achievement, and personality tests are used in the assessment of suspected handicapped children and other children having academic or behavioral difficulties in school.

The association of test scores with race, class, and ethnicity of students and the resegregation that results from sorting students into groups based on these scores has raised questions about test procedures and charges of test bias. Critics argue that the tests measure performance on tasks based on experiences and values that are less likely to be part of the minority child's history, and that the disjunction between exposure and tested competency will be most dramatic for the children whose families speak another language in the home. If test scores are viewed as representations of the inherent ability of children, and ability groups and tracks are rigidly built on that assumption, then the initial score gaps among racial and ethnic groups will be maintained.

There have been numerous discussions and definitions of test bias in the literature (Anastasi, 1976; Cleary, Humphreys, Kendrick, & Wesman, 1975; Flaugher, 1978; Hunter & Schmidt, 1976; McNemar, 1975). Three major categories of test bias, content bias, mean bias, and predictive bias, have received the most attention.

Content bias. Content bias refers to the degree to which specific items on the test are culturally biased. Charges of content bias have been frequent, but attempts to eliminate content bias have generally not improved scores of minority students.

Analysis of content bias of tests have ranged from subjective opinions of reviewers to complex statistical item analysis. The subjective review procedure is a superficial examination of the item to determine if it looks biased. Some

test developers have used panels of experts to review test items, eliminating those which appear biased, attempting to control for content bias. However, eliminating 13 items perceived to be biased from a widely used 82 item elementary reading test "did not improve the performance of schools with high minority populations relative to their performance on the original 'biased' version" (Flaugher, 1978). Frequently, subjective judgments of item bias are not substantiated empirically. For example, the following item from the WISC-R Comprehensive subtest: "What is the thing to do if a boy (girl) much smaller than yourself starts to fight with you?" has been frequently criticized as biased against inner-city black children. Statistical analysis of responses, however, would suggest that this item may be relatively easier for blacks than whites (Jensen, 1976).

Cotter and Berk (1981) examined item bias in the WISC-R using black, white, and Hispanic educators to select items they felt were biased against their groups. Five of six black educators felt that items were not biased; Hispanic reviewers selected eight items they felt were biased against Hispanos. In their second study they performed an item analysis and found that when results for black and white students were compared that 7 of 44 items (11%) were biased against blacks and 6 of 64 (9%) were identified as biased against whites. A similar pattern held with 6% and 8% biased against Hispanos and whites respectively.

In comparing the results of the judgmental and statistical review, it should be noted that those items thought to be biased were not statistically biased and that judges disagreed that the items that proved to be statistically biased were biased (Cotter & Berk, 1981). "Subjective judgments of item bias are not necessarily accurate, and revision of current tests either in the direction of greater or lesser cultural loading might have the effects of

simultaneously increasing or maintaining group differences and reducing validity" (Reschley, 1979).

The issue of content bias has been raised in the courts. The plaintiffs in the PASE case (Parents in Action on Special Education v. Hannon, et al., 1980) argued that the individual intelligence tests used in identifying black children for EMR placement were culturally biased. Arguments and testimony focused on the relevance of the test items to the black culture. Judge Grady concluded that the experts were working from preconceived notions and chose not to base his decision on their conflicting testimonies. Rather, he conducted his own review of the tests used in assessment (Stanford Binet and WISC-R), examining the face validity of each item. He concluded that the tests are not biased and found in favor of the defendants. This case is currently under appeal.

Mean bias. There are literally thousands of articles which address the issue of mean differences in test scores among racial groups. These studies document lower scores by blacks on a variety of tests including the IQ tests frequently used for school placement (Joseph, 1977). "Several studies of testing made during the past half century have demonstrated that the mean score of blacks is one standard deviation (i.e., 15 points) below that of whites, especially on tests that purport to measure levels of intellectual function" (Samuda, 1975). Shuey (1966) reviewed more than 500 studies of black intelligence covering a period of 50 years and using 81 different measures of intelligence that confirmed these differences. When the racial groups are roughly matched on the usual SES factors, the mean IQ difference is diminished to about 10 points (Shuey, 1966). Though the majority of studies of racial and cultural differences on test performance has focused on IQ tests, similar differences emerge on achievement tests.

Whether the finding of a difference in mean test scores between groups is evidence of test bias is a matter of debate. Proponents of testing argue that mean differences do not equal bias, that these differences are real differences on the "trait" measured by the test:

> Differences in the experiential backgrounds of groups or individuals are inevitably manifested in test performance. Every psychological test measures a behavior sample. Insofar as culture affects behavior, its influence will and should be detected by tests. If we rule out all . . cultural differentials from a test, we may thereby lower its validity as a measure of the behavior domain it was designed to assess. In that case the test would fail to provide the kind of information needed to correct the very conditions that impaired performance (Anastasi, 1976, p. 58).

Opponents of testing argue that mean bias is related to construct validity, and that the construct of the tests is at the heart of the issue. For example, if it is assumed that the construct of intelligence is normally distributed regardless of the color of skin, yet the intelligence tests result in different means for different races, then the test is biased and lacks construct validity. (It should be noted that when differences in mean scores of males and females--females had the higher scores--occurred at the beginning of the testing movement, test authors altered the tests until the resulting means were the same, and they continue to be the same. The argument at that time was the construct of intelligence was assumed to be normally distributed in males and females.)

Plaintiffs in Diana v. State Board of Education, (1970) and Larry P. v. Riles, (1972, 1979) argued that the intelligence tests used for identifying Hispanic and black children, respectively, were culturally biased on the basis of construct validity. In Diana, it was argued that the construct of intelligence was not being measured when Spanish-dominant children were tested by English-language tests, i.e., the construct being measured was not "intelligence" but facility with the English language. The Larry P. arguments were much more complex though the focus remained on the construct validity of the test, that

is, did the commonly used tests of intelligence (Stanford-Binet and WISC-R) really measure the intelligence of black children? Testimonies were given by the leading figures on both sides of the testing issue. In short, Judge Peckham concluded that the construct measured by IQ tests did not reflect intelligence of black children, thus banned their use for identifying black children for EMR placement. The state of California broadened this decision and has prohibited the use of IQ tests for identification of black children for any special education placement. It should be noted that the Larry P. case, like the PASE case in which the opposite decision was rendered, has been appealed. Thus, it appears that the debate of testing bias, a debate that seems to elude consensus among professionals, will culminate in a Supreme Court decision yet to come.

Those who support the validity of tests, contending that mean bias is not real bias, for educational assessment point to their predictive validity for minorities as well as majority students. That is, the tests are said to predict future educational achievement moderately well regardless of class or race (Jensen, 1973).

Predictive bias. IQ tests have been found to be moderately good predictors of achievement in school for most groups of children. Thorndike and Hagen (1977) reported a .50 to .60 correlation overall, with a .70 correlation with achievement in elementary school. A similar pattern has been noted for minority children (Hartlage & Steele, 1977) and LD and EMR children (Raskin, Bloom, Klee, & Reese, 1978). There is, however, some laboratory research using learning tasks in a controlled experiment that suggests predictive validity is weakest with those groups whose previous experience might be expected to deviate from the middle class norm:

> (L)ow IQ (60-85) lower class children are, on the average, markedly superior in learning ability to low-IQ middle-class children. In the

> IQ range above 100 . . . there are not significant differences in learning ability between lower- and middle-class children matched for IQ. This suggests that once the IQ has exceeded a certain level . . . it gives a fairly accurate assessment of learning ability regardless of social-class level. In the lower IQ range (which, incidentally, contains the modal performance of lower-class children), the IQ test grossly underestimates learning ability among lower-class children . . . . This is especially true for Negroes in the U.S.A. (Jensen, 1973, pp. 92-93)

Opponents of testing argue that the traditional practice of demonstrating the validity of IQ tests by predicting school achievement as measured on standardized achievement tests is itself invalid, since achievement tests are also culturally biased. They conclude that there should be no surprise that one culturally biased test would predict performance on another culturally biased test. Mercer (1979) reports that when grade point averages, instead of achievement test scores, are used as the criterion, differential validity for the three racial/ethnic groups emerges. The IQ tests consistently underpredict the GPA of black and Hispanic children, whereas they are fairly accurate predictors of the GPA of white children.

There is a conundrum in the defense of mean differences on tests used for placement based on their predictive ability, especially as these measures are used for the purpose of homogeneous grouping. If students' backgrounds have not exposed them to vocabulary, cultural customs, or patterns of analysis used on the test, then their subsequent placement in a low ability group may serve to create a self-fulfilling prophecy of expected low achievement. If children are placed in groups where expectations for achievement are low and the curriculum in relatively less substantive or if they are given less academic attention due to their "lower ability" then the test that so classified them will prove to be a good predictor of low achievement.

The overriding basic assumption regarding the use of tests is that the test user is an informed consumer who is knowledgeable about the psychometric basis

of tests, the limitations of test interpretation, and the literature relevant to the tests used and the problems of testing. No informed consumer of tests would assert that tests measure the inherent abilities of children, rather that test performance is a combined result of heritability and cultural experience. However, the ways in which tests are used by the school seem to reflect a belief that the tests are measuring an immutable "given" quality in children.

Researchers recently have demonstrated that performance on standardized achievement tests is not unchangeable. Results from the past two years in the National Assessment of Educational Progress show that nine-year old black children, particularly in the Southeast, are making achievement gains greater than their nine-year old white peers (Elementary . . ., 1981). They have been, in fact, narrowing the achievement gap. Edmonds (1979), who studied schools in which children in the bottom third of the achievement distribution were learning at grade level, concluded that poor and minority children who are often found in that portion of the achievement scale can learn well if certain school characteristics are present.

The gap in average achievement scores of white children and minority children is probably alterable. What educators do about the gap is more important for minority children's life chances than whether there is a gap and how it got there. Building the academic organization of the school on measures of the current achievement distribution may simply reinforce the existing pattern.

In summary. Standardized tests of IQ and achievement are an important tool in the placement of students into ability groups and tracks. Because the mean differences in scores among various ethnic groups are substantial, use of tests in this manner resegregates schools. The consistent findings of group differences on tests suggest that if resegregation is to be avoided, attention must be placed on developing instructional strategies that allow students of

varying levels of achievement to learn together. To the extent that the tests reflect differential experiences of children rather than inherently different abilities to learn, rigid and inflexible tracking systems may perpetuate these differences and legitimize the differences in educational opportunity afforded students as well as the lack of contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups.

The Effects of Racial or Ethnic Bias on Resegregation

Test bias may lead to resegregation, but basing assignment decisions on professional judgment is not necessarily a choice more likely to enhance integration. There is considerable evidence that when teacher judgment enters into placement decision, social class resegregation is greater than it would be if test scores alone were used.

Findley and Bryan (1971) report a study in which it was found that high SES children who tested high were much more likely to be placed in a high track than low SES children who tested high. If tests alone had been used 77% of high and 38% of low SES students would have been in the high track. While 80% of the high SES high scorers were so placed, only 50% of the low SES high scorers were. More recent studies have revealed similar patterns in Britain and the United States (Lunn, 1970; Haller & Davis, 1980).

Teachers base group assignments on their general impressions of children, as well as on their knowledge of earlier placements and test results. Such characteristics as cleanliness, clothing, "proper" behavior, and parental concern and involvement may influence assignment (Rist, 1970). A somewhat different view is expressed by Haller (1981) who argues that class-biased assignment is largely a result of the necessity to make distinctions with limited data. He asked 37 upper elementary teachers in four districts in New York state to group their own students into reading groups as if they were advising next year's teacher. Their reasons were recorded as the sort progressed. Haller

found that potentially class-related attributes such as work habits, social relations, personality, and family background were used to classify students whose reading scores placed them at the margins of a group. While there was a tendency to move higher SES children up and lower SES children down, this occurred only with the marginal scores. He concluded from analysis of the data that class-related bias displacements account for a very small amount of the disproportional placement found; most is attributed to the well established pattern of class differences in achievement test scores.

There is no direct empirical evidence that racial or ethnic bias contributes to the disproportionate low placement of minorities, but to the extent that teachers make placement decisions based on their impressions of students, one would expect minority students to suffer displacement into lower tracks. The high visibility of race and ethnicity compared to social class cues makes these students vulnerable to decisions based on prejudice.

Brishcetto and Arciniega (1973) report that educators view Chicanos as unmotivated, apathetic, nonadherent to time schedules, and incapable of learning in American schools. There is considerable evidence that black children are seen as less promising academically and more troublesome (Henderson, Goffeney, Butler, & Clarkson, 1971; Rajpal, 1972; St. John, 1975; Gerard & Miller, 1976; Weinberg, 1977). An early study found white teachers characterizing black youngsters as high-strung, impetuous, lazy, moody, rebellious and talkative, while black teachers saw them as ambitious, cooperative, energetic, fun loving and happy (Gottlieb, 1964). A more recent study found different standards used to judge black and white children. Southern teachers rated passive black students higher than passive white students (Long & Henderson, 1972).

These low expectations for minority students are associated with lowered achievement. A number of studies of minority student achievement demonstrate that these students do better with teachers who have high expectations and

positive attitudes (Narot, 1973; Forehand, Ragosta, & Rock, 1976). This is of course, consistent with the findings of considerable research on teacher expectancies.

The Effects of Student and Parent Choice on Resegregation

Student and parent choice is not always a factor in student assignment to academic groupings. Neither students nor parents participate in the formation of ability groupings in the elementary school. Student and parent choice does emerge as a factor in selecting secondary school tracks. Parental consent is either mandated or usually sought for placement in categorical programs, such as compensatory, special education, and bilingual education programs. The role of choice has not been extensively documented and should probably not be overemphasized.

Choice in tracking. Though student and parent choice is likely to emerge as a factor in decisions about track placement with future career implications, the patterns of ability grouping in elementary school will have set students on paths towards particular tracks long before formal choices are made. Educational experiences in low ability classes will have left many students without the skills necessary to compete in the high status college preparatory track in high school. Furthermore, ability grouping policies in high schools such as those documented by Green and Cohen (1979) and Larkins and Oldham (1976) may effectively limit track choices.

Economic and social pressures may channel students into lower tracks, where choice is a factor in assignment. Minority students report intensive peer pressure when they succeed academically--pressure not to "act white." Parents and teachers sometimes encourage choices by students that are not as demanding academically because they do not want the child to try and fail. Noblit (1979) describes academically successful minority females who can clearly

succeed in college taking vocational courses, or sometimes taking the vocational track as a fall-back position or as something assuring a greater degree of success.

When the combination of these decisions results in a pattern of choice by minority children for vocational and general over college preparatory tracks or for regular level over advanced placement, resegregation is increased.

Parental consent for categorical programs. As was noted in the introduction to this section, parental consent is either mandated or usually obtained prior to student assignment in categorical programs. The role of the parent in such decision-making has received very little attention by researchers. When the school proposes that a child be involved in a compensatory reading class with a small number of children, it would be a rare parent to deny his/her child that opportunity for extra academic attention. The Hispanic community is very supportive of bilingual education as evidenced by their involvement in desegregation cases to save bilingual programs; thus it appears most Hispanic parents will endorse bilingual education for their children.

In the case of special education, parental consent is required prior to initial assessment and prior to provision of special education services, or placement. Parents frequently react to the school's concern about their child's behavior and/or achievement by giving permission to conduct an assessment. This evaluation is conducted by a multidisciplinary team that then meets with the parent(s) and the child, when appropriate, to formulate an individual educational plan and determine placement, if that child is considered handicapped. Weatherly (1979) found a strong tendency for professionals to reach a consensus before parents were involved, so that parents' understanding of and influence on the process were very limited. It would not be surprising for parents, when confronted by a team of experts, to consent to the recommended

program. From one of the author's experiences in serving families of handicapped children at a university clinic, parents frequently are unaware of the label of the child's handicapping condition and are unaware of the type of special education services the child is receiving. Yet these same parents may have participated in writing the original individual education program and may have reviewed it annually with the child's teacher. Thus it is highly unlikely that schools are failing to give this information to parents, but it is most likely that schools are not communicating that information in a manner which the parents can understand. This is most obvious in the case where an all English-speaking team meets with a Spanish-dominant parent. It appears to be fairly unusual for parents to oppose or have much influence on the school's recommendation for special education.

While there may be the potential for student and parent choice regarding assignment to categorical programs, the bureaucratic structure of the school and the ecology of the decision-making arena tend to limit the influence of their participation.

Program Organization

The degree of incompatibility of programmatic regularities (ability grouping and tracking, compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education) and desegregation lies in the way in which these programs are organized. Too often ability grouping and tracking become rigid organizational practices, resulting in resegregation for the large majority of the school day. Compensatory educational services are usually offered on a pull-out basis, which has been shown to be a resegregative practice of questionable effectiveness. The delivery of special education or bilingual services may be organized along a continuum of services, from limited pull-out to full-day placements. Full-day placements, whether in ability-grouped classes or special or bilingual

education, are clearly resegregative. The degree to which those programs organized on a pull-out basis are resegregative depends on the extent to which the pulled-out students are disproportionately minority group members. Resegregation through pull-out programs also depends on the amount of time for which children are pulled-out.

Multiple Eligibility for Categorical Programs

The racial isolation of children created by pull-out programs may be compounded by multiple eligibility. Categorical programs have distinctive histories, have come about as the result of pressures by a variety of different organized interests, and are administered by different units. An individual child who is, for example, poor, low achieving, in a racial minority, and who is not proficient in English may be entitled to several separate pull-out program services. This may lead to isolation from regular classes simply to allow time for participation in all the compensatory programs, or if sufficient numbers of students are involved, it may lead to grouping multiply eligible students for administrative convenience.

It is clearly possible for an individual to be eligible for the services of more than one categorical program, but there is very little data on how many students actually participate in multiple programs. Coulson, Hanes, Ozene, Bradford, Doherty, Duck, & Hemenway (1977) noted above-average proportions of Title I-eligible students in ESAA-eligible schools, however, no data were provided on the magnitude of multiple eligibility or service. Hill (1979) noted an NIE report that indicated that 27% of Title I students are in special pull-out classes throughout the entire school day, receiving no regular classroom instruction.

Kimbrough and Hill (1981), following an exploratory study, concluded that Hispanic children, especially those from migrant workers' families, are most likely to have multiple program eligibility. Many of these children were found

to participate in four or five different programs. Kimbrough and Hill also found that in most of the schools in their study, students were actually placed in all programs for which they were eligible. Theoretically, the students could be eligible for all of the programs described in this report, although the combination of Title I and special education services funded by P.L. 94-142 has been the subject of controversy (Hill, 1979).

It is clear that pull-out may become increasingly segregative as the number of programs in which the child participates increases. School districts have difficulty coordinating programs to reduce conflict as they struggle to avoid violating one set of mandates in order to comply with another. This is especially difficult when implementing categorical programs simultaneously with desegregation. Alternatives to the traditional school organizational practices are described in Chapter Three.

Summary: Resegregation Through Academic Programs

We have reviewed the academic/programmatic regularities which schools use to address academic heterogeneity of the student population. The resegregative effects of these regularities--ability grouping and tracking, compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education--have been documented. There are three factors associated with resegregation through these practices: student assignment, program organization, and multiple eligibility for categorical programs. Student assignment is a complex decision-making process with potential for bias in testing, school personnel judgments, and student and parent choice. Such student assignment practices tend to result in overrepresentation of minority children in the lower academic groupings and underrepresentation in the higher academic groupings.

Program organization varies with the practice. Ability grouping and tracking too often become rigid organizational structures from which it is

difficult to escape. Compensatory education is generally offered on a pull-out basis; special education and bilingual education vary along a continuum from pull-out to full-time separate classes. The degree to which these grouping practices result in resegregation depends on the extent to which minorities are overrepresented in enrollment and the extent to which the children are segregated from the regular classroom. The problems that school districts face in attempting to deliver educational services are exacerbated by the multiple program eligibility that results from fragmented public policymaking. It seems that while public policy has encouraged and financed school efforts to provide programs for identified groups of children, not enough attention has been devoted to the fact that individual children may belong to several groups. Alternatives to these resegregative grouping practices are presented in Chapter Three.

The Impact of Discipline Practices on Resegregation

The behavioral regularities reflected in school discipline policy are the school's attempt to deal with diversity of the student population while maintaining the stability and order necessary to the business of teaching and learning. Since 1973, when the Southern Regional Council published The Student Pushout: Victims of Continued Resistance to Desegregation, there has been concern about the exclusion of minority children from desegregated schools for disciplinary reasons. With few numbers but many anecdotes, the council suggested that newly desegregated districts suspended and expelled disproportionate numbers of black youngsters, starting them on a cycle that resulted ultimately in dropping out of school. This pushout phenomenon is thus thought to contribute to resegregation.

In this section, we will (1) document the racial disproportionality in suspension and drop-outs in American schools, (2) examine their relationships to school desegregation, and (3) explore the possibility that this disproportion-

ality results from discriminatory administration of discipline and negative school climates and teacher attitudes.

Suspension

Suspensions are a widely used disciplinary technique. Based on the OCR fall 1973 survey of 2,917 school districts, the Children's Defense Fund (1974) estimated that one out of every 20 school age children were suspended in the 1972-73 school year. The districts included represented over 50% of all public school enrollment and 90% of all minority student enrollment.

Suspension is an overwhelmingly secondary school practice. The OCR survey indicated that 4.2% of all students were suspended at least once in 1972-73, but the figure for elementary students was .9% while it was 8% for secondary students (Kaeser, 1979b). In individual school districts, the proportion of secondary students suspended may be much higher than the national average; in Denver, for example, the figure was 30.6% (Children's Defense Fund, 1974).

There are no government mandates for specific disciplinary practices, such as suspensions and expulsions; however, there are government constraints on discipline and the procedures of imposing discipline. A general underlying theme to these constraints is that of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which requires that no program or activity receiving federal financial assistance be discriminatory. Beginning with the 1972-73 school year, the Office of Civil Rights, in monitoring desegregation, has regularly collected data on suspensions, expulsions, and corporal punishment administered, by race. Title VII of the Emergency School Aid Act, which provides assistance to local districts in accomplishing "meaningful desegregation," includes funds for Special Student Concerns Projects to assist school districts with discipline and suspensions during desegregation, including determination of racial effects and

operating programs to equalize them.

School disciplinary practices have been the focus of several litigation efforts. The first of these was Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education (1961) in which it was ruled that due process, including notice of charges and opportunity for a hearing, is required before expulsion (in this case from a state college). This principle was subsequently applied to expulsion from high school (Children's Defense Fund, 1974). The decision in Goss v. Lopez (1975) expanded this policy to suspension of any length. The courts have also ruled on the appropriateness of disciplinary procedures (i.e., suspension and expulsion) to the nature of the student offense (Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 1969; Goss v. Lopez, 1975). Furthermore, students can sue school officials for damages if their constitutional rights are violated in disciplinary action(s) (Woods v. Strickland, 1975). Recently, a Connecticut court ruled that suspension and expulsion of handicapped students is limited by P.L. 94-142. If the disciplinary problem is related to the child's handicapping condition, then a change of individual program or special education placement is warranted rather than suspension or expulsion (Stuart v. Nappi, 1978).

Resegregation Through Suspension

A clear pattern of race disproportions in suspension has been extensively documented in local school districts across the country. Some of this evidence is presented in Table 2.13. Clearly, every city listed in this table had a much larger percent of minority suspensions than they did minority enrollment.

TABLE 2.13

Percent Minority Enrollment & Suspensions in Urban Areas

Sample	% Enrollment	% Suspensions	Source
BLACKS			
Mobile	46.0	64.0	National Public
Indianapolis	41.4	60.3	Radio, 1974
Pittsburgh	42.4	60.0	
Prince Georges Co., Md.	28.0	43.0	
Boston	34.1	47.0	
Dade Co., Fl.	26.0	53.0	
MINORITIES			
New York	64.4	85.9	CDF, 1974
Houston	56.4	71.0	
Cleveland	59.4	71.0	
Memphis	58.0	70.2	

Aspira (1979b), in a nationwide study of school districts having enrollments of at least 3,000 and at least a five percent Hispanic enrollment, found that Hispanos were generally less likely to be suspended or expelled than non-Hispanos, which of course includes blacks. Carter (1981) also reported that in those regions with the largest Hispanic enrollment, a slightly smaller proportion of Hispanos are suspended than of non-Hispanos.

A study by the National Education Association found that in the 21 largest school districts in the U.S., 72% of all suspensions were black (Arnez, 1978). However, racial disparity in suspensions is not limited to large urban districts; two-thirds of the districts surveyed by OCR had higher black than white suspension rates (Arnez, 1976). The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) analyzed OCR data for 1972-73 and found twice as many black children suspended as white (Kaeser, 1979b). OCR data for 1976, analyzed by region, is consistent with the earlier CDF reports. Black students were from 2 to 5 times as likely to be suspended as white students in all regions of the country. The data for Hispanos was mixed, with few regions showing large disparities. Those regions with the largest Hispanic enrollments report a slightly smaller proportion of Hispanos suspended than whites (Carter, 1981).

Analysis of 17 more recent district and state studies were consistent with patterns reported by CDF and others. These reports were gathered from: Louisville/Jefferson County, Kentucky; Tampa/Hillsborough County, Florida; Prince Georges County, Maryland; Boston; Richland County Districts 1, 2 and 50, South Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; Dallas, Texas; Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse, New York; Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Ohio State-wide Study; and Portland Oregon.

Black students were not only suspended at a greater rate than white students, but also received lengthier suspensions. On an average, whites are out of school for 3½ days per suspension; the average for blacks is 4½ days (Hall, 1978).

Suspensions were also more likely to be repeated for black students. The Children's Defense Fund study showed that 27% of suspended black students were suspended at least 3 times in the school year, while this was true for only 11% of suspended whites (Children's Defense Fund, 1974).

Though suspension is generally considered a secondary school discipline procedure, minority children are suspended at younger ages than whites. The CDF, using 1972-73 OCR data, analyzed patterns in 30 areas (census tracts, precincts, or housing projects) in nine states and Washington, D.C. Their findings are reported in Table 2.14.

TABLE 2.14

Percent Suspended By Age

Group	% Suspended Age 6-17	% Suspended Age 12-17
Black	7.3	12.8
White	2.3	4.1
Mexican-American	3.9	7.1
Puerto Rican	4.5	9.4

Relationship of Suspension to Desegregation

In order to determine the resegregative impact of the disparity in suspensions of minority students, it would be useful to have data on suspensions before desegregation to determine if disproportions increased. Although most school districts did not analyze discipline data prior to desegregation, there is some direct evidence of an increase in disproportionate suspensions and a good deal of suggestive related material.

A number of districts show an overall increase in the number of suspensions during the first year of desegregation. For example, Columbus, Ohio suspended 1,648 students in the first two months of the initial year compared to 1,435 the previous year (Columbus, 1980). Louisville doubled suspensions the first year, from 7,212 to 16,272 (Project Student Concerns, 1977). In Tampa, the same pattern occurred, from 4,805 to 8,598 the first year (Foster, 1977). In Milwaukee, 62% of junior high students and 45% of high school students were suspended, compared to 52% and 30% respectively the year preceding desegregation (Southern Regional Council, 1979). A study of suspension in Little Rock concluded that unequal suspension of blacks is "less severe" where black enrollment is under 15% and "appears to be worse" where black enrollment is 30-40% (SRC, 1979).

Several cities reported an increase in the disparity between black and white suspensions as well as an increase in overall suspension rates subsequent to desegregation. In Little Rock, 829 blacks were suspended in the 1968-69 compared to 1,504 in 1971-72, one year after desegregation began. While black enrollment increased from 31% to 37.7%, black suspensions went from 62.4% to 79.9%, a slight increase in disproportionality. In Charlotte-Mecklenberg County during the same period, suspensions increased from 1,544 to 6,652 (Southern Regional Council, 1979).

In Trent's (1981) report of intensive interviews of professionals in desegregated school districts from across the country, a majority of respondents said that discipline problems had increased with desegregation, although some attributed it to other causes, and others noted that it was a phenomenon in the immediate post-desegregation period which is declining. Half of the respondents reported that discipline was disproportionately administered to minority students.

Adding to the concern that disproportionate suspensions are acting to resegregate students is growing evidence that post-desegregation suspension rates may be related to the racial composition of the school.

In Milwaukee, schools that were virtually all-white and changed to 15-34% black after the court order had the largest increase in overall suspension rate and the highest disparity in black suspensions; previously integrated schools that experienced little change in black enrollment underwent little change in black suspension disparity and no overall increase in suspensions (Larkin, 1979). Testimony in Hawkins v. Coleman pointed out that the black suspension rate in Dallas was 600% higher in majority-white than in majority-black schools (Hall, 1978). In Cleveland, no clear relationship between high and low suspension rates was found among both all-white and all-black schools (at least 90% one race); however, a disproportionate black suspension rate was found in nearly all integrated schools (Kaeser, 1979b).

In the Aspira (1979b) study of schools having enrollments of at least 3,000 students and 5% Hispanos, a clear relationship was shown between suspension rate and segregation level of the schools:

> The proportion of Hispanos suspended was lower than the proportion of non-Hispanos suspended regardless of the level of segregation. However, the variation in suspension rates by level of segregation differed for Hispanos and non-Hispanos. For both groups, the lowest rates occurred in highly segregated districts. However, Hispano suspension rates were highest in moderately segregated systems while non-Hispano rates were highest in less segregated systems.

> Since moderately segregated districts also had the highest proportion of Hispanos with language problems, this suggests that cultural differences may be construed as behavioral problems that require mild disciplinary action. Alternately, the language differences may have increased interracial strife among students, leading to mild disciplinary action. (Aspira, 1979b, p. 10)

These overall trends suggest that it is the schools with the greatest potential for interracial contact that are most prone to use disciplinary techniques that substantially resegregate students within the school.

Drop-outs

While disciplinary suspension temporarily removes children from schools, the drop-out leaves permanently. Though there may be many reasons for individual students to drop out of school, these reasons may be summarized as a lack of student fit in the school culture; the students' needs and values are in conflict with the school's offerings and values.

Resegregation Through Drop-outs

Just as there is racial and ethnic disparity in suspension practices, there is such disproportionality in drop-out rates. Compared to the national drop-out rate for 14-17 year-olds of 10%, the rate was 15% for blacks, 20% for Hispanos, and 22% for American Indians (National Center for Education Statistics, 1981).

The Youth Advocacy Project reported two to three times the drop-out rate for black youth in the seven New York cities they examined (Block, Covill-Servo, & Rosen, 1978). This disproportion has also been found in Wilmington (Grantham, 1981), eleven schools in two midwestern cities with black enrollment of 5-20% (Bennett, 1981; Bennett & Harris, 1981), and Kalamazoo (Green & Cohen, 1979). Tompkins (1978) found less clear patterns in a study of seven Ohio school districts. Four had similar drop-out rates for blacks and whites, one a lower rate for blacks, and two a higher rate for blacks.

The Hispanic drop-out rate is even more disproportionate. For every 10

Mexican Americans who enter first grade, only 6 graduate from high school, compared to 9 out of 10 entering whites (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974). According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1976), 26.5% of the Chicano population 25 years or over had not completed even five years of schooling. Only 29.1% had graduated from high school. Aspira's (1979b) report indicated that the Hispanic drop-out rate exceeded that for non-Hispanos (including blacks) in all regions of the U.S. except the East Coast.

Not only is the Hispanic drop-out rate higher than black and white drop-out rates. Hispanos tend to complete fewer years of schooling. Haro (1977) reported 1970 U.S. Census data on years of schooling by ethnic groups in the Southwest (see Table 2.15). Though the years of schooling completed by each

TABLE 2.15

Years of Schooling Completed by Ethnic Groups in the Southwest, 1970

Ethnic Group	States				
	Ariz.	Calif.	Colo.	N.Mex.	Tex.
Anglo	12.1	12.4	12.4	12.2	11.9
Spanish Surname	8.8	10.6	9.8	9.7	7.2
Black	8.8	11.9	12.2	10.9	9.7

Source: Haro, C. M. Mexicano/Chicano concerns and school desegregation in Los Angeles. Los Angeles: University of California, Chicano Studies Center, 1977.

ethnic group varied by state, a clear trend emerged: blacks completed fewer years of schooling than whites, and Hispanos completed fewer years of schooling than blacks. The young age at which Hispanos drop out of school is even more dramatically portrayed when examining drop-out rates by grade level. Carter (1970a) reported data collected by the Governor's Committee on Public School Education in Texas (see Table 2.16).

TABLE 2.16

Estimated School Dropout Rates by Grade Level, Texas
(Percent of Total Dropout by Grade
and Ethnic Group)

Grade	Anglo	Latin	Negro	Total	Cumulative
7	4.8	17.6	7.2	9.3	9.3
8	7.0	17.1	8.9	10.6	19.9
9	15.0	22.5	19.2	18.1	38.0
10	28.5	23.2	26.7	26.4	64.4
11	27.4	13.7	23.6	22.3	86.7
12	17.4	5.9	14.4	13.1	99. 8
total	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.8	

Source: Carter, T. P. Mexican Americans in school: A history of educational neglect. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970. (a)

In summary, there is a disproportionate drop-out rate among minority students, with blacks dropping out more frequently and earlier than whites and Hispanos dropping out more frequently and earlier than blacks.

Relationship of Drop-outs to Suspension

Although there is surprisingly little evidence that the same students who are repeatedly suspended eventually drop out of school, districts with high suspension rates also have high drop-out rates (Grantham, 1981). Bennett and Harris (1981) found that the schools they studied which had high rates of black suspensions also had disproportionate numbers of black students dropping out of school. Grantham (1981) found a similar relationship between disproportionate suspension and drop-out rates, though the associated between level of white student suspensions and drop-outs was somewhat stronger than the association between the level of black suspensions and drop-outs. Perhaps a more diverse group of black students is suspended.

Relationship of Drop-outs to Desegregation

There are few studies specifically relating drop-out rates to desegregation. Two will be summarized here. The first of these is a global study relating drop-outs to levels of school segregation. The second examines the specific factors associated with the relationship of drop-out rates to desegregation.

Aspira (1979b), in a nationwide study of schools having an enrollment of at least 3,000 students and at least a 5% Hispanic enrollment, concluded that drop-out rates for Hispanos are highest in highly segregated school districts; the rate for non-Hispanic minorities, including blacks, followed a similar trend. Though there was some variability across the regions examined in the study, less segregated school districts always produced a larger proportion of Hispanic graduates than highly segregated districts. This pattern held true for non-Hispanic minorities as well, except in the South where a high graduation rate was found in highly segregated districts. There were no moderately segregated districted included in the study.

Pelice and Richardson (1977) examined the hypothesis that minority student drop-out rates would decrease with school desegregation. The data were from a four-year (1970-1975) longitudinal study of majority and minority students' achievement and self-concept in a southwestern community with a population approximately 65% white, 20% black and 15% Mexican-American. A federal court had ordered the school district to bus 1600 minority students to previously all-white schools, thus minority data was available before and after 3 years of busing for minority students. Drop-outs from both time periods were interviewed at home to augment basic survey data and school record information. In addition, teachers in all of the schools were surveyed to provide data on staff attitudes, expectations, and behavior.

Pelice and Richardson concluded that the drop-out rate for minority students is dependent upon the social climate of the schools into which they are placed. Their major finding was that minority students in higher SES school environments with more favorable teacher expectations had lower drop-out rates. The

descriptive evidence in the study is similarly instructive. Minority students who were bused in 1975 had higher drop-out rates than minority students who were not bused (10.8% for blacks bused vs. 6.2% for non-bused blacks; 13.5% for Mexican-Americans bused vs. 10.5% for non-bused Mexican-Americans). Moreover, for blacks bused there was a substantial increase in 1975 drop-out rates over 1971 drop-out rates (10.8% vs. 6%) while for non-bused blacks the drop-out rates were reported to have declined from 6.4% to 6.2%. Also, the white drop-out rate for 1975 in the bused group was found to be lower than the 1975 drop-out rate for whites in the non-bused category, indicating no deleterious effects of school desegregation for white students.

Still other findings illustrate that teacher ratings of minority student academic ability and minority student effort differed depending on the concentration of students from high socioeconomic background in the school. In high SES schools, 52% of the teachers rated minority academic ability good to excellent compared to 36% of the teachers in low SES schools. In high SES schools, 32% of the teachers rated minority student effort as good to excellent compared to only 18% of the teachers in low SES schools.

These findings lead Felice and Richardson to conclude:

> The school's ability to motivate and equip its students to remain in school may well be the most basic dimension to the current effort to equalize social, economic, and cultural differences and abilities of entering students (p. 50).

In summary, Felice and Richardson (1977) found that the drop-out rate for minorities was significantly reduced when the school climate was favorable.

Reasons Resegregation Occurs Through Discipline Procedures

There have been a number of reasons advanced to account for the racial and ethnic disparity in disciplinary actions. Some suggest that the disproportion stems from greater misbehavior on the part of minority students. Others point to differential application of school behavior standards. The

increase of suspensions that occurs when minority students attend previously all-white schools suggests that a combination of factors may be at work, abetted by insensitivity of school professionals to cultural differences in behavior.

The large disparities in suspension rates among schools, even within districts, argue against blaming students. Many schools and districts with high minority enrollments do not suspend minority students at a high rate (Children's Defense Fund, 1975; Van Fleet, 1977). Beneath the overall pattern of racial disparity enormous variations among individual schools exist. In two Ohio districts overall suspension rates in secondary schools varied from .4% to 72.5% (Kaeser, 1979b). In Milwaukee, suspension rates among junior high schools ranged from 2% to 10.5% (Larkin, 1979). Among Louisville secondary schools, the black-white difference in percent of students suspended varied from 6.3% to 59.6% (Project Student Concerns, 1977).

These differences in suspension rates seem to reflect the ways in which particular principals and teachers apply rules. Some educators do not use suspension at all. Others use it infrequently and still others use it frequently for a wide range of offenses. It is in school districts that use it frequently that the disproportion of minorities is also high.

The notion that heavy use of suspension is determined by the inclinations of school personnel rather than student behavior is strengthened by several studies identifying behaviors leading to suspension. In general, suspensions for all students are primarily given for behavior that is not violent or dangerous to person or property. In the Louisville schools, the Kentucky Bar Association found that 78% of suspensions were not for dangerous behavior or property destruction; about one-half of the suspensions were attendance-related (Project Student Concerns, 1977).

A survey by the National Association of Secondary School Principals showed that attendance violations such as cutting classes, truancy, and tardiness were the most frequent suspendable offenses followed by smoking, nonviolent disruptive acts, violation of school rules such as bus and cafeteria conduct, physical violence or threat of it, and such other major offenses as theft or drug use (Project Student Concerns, 1977).

The Children's Defense Fund (1974) survey revealed a similar pattern. Based on interviews of approximately 600 suspended students and/or their parents, they found that 63.4% were suspended for nonviolent offenses. This included 24.5% for attendance, 13.6% for such behavior problems as "acting out" and cursing, 8.5% who argued with teachers or other students and 16.8% for miscellaneous offenses such as smoking, dress code violations and drug use. The remaining 36.6% were suspended for violent acts such as fighting with teachers or other students.

Although not all studies have shown differences in the types of offenses leading to suspension, where there are differences, blacks are often found to be suspended for less dangerous offenses. Studies conducted in Tampa, Dallas, and Cleveland concluded that black children were more likely to be suspended for "subjective" offenses rather than "objective" ones. Subjective offenses were those requiring a personal judgment and included disobedience, insubordination, disruptive or disrespectful behavior, profanity, and dress code violations. Objective offenses that can be more clearly measured included use of alcohol or drugs, assault, possession of weapons, truancy, and the like (Foster, 1977).

Studies from Louisville, Columbus, and Kalamazoo show disproportionate suspensions but not differences in reasons for suspension by race (Project Student Concerns, 1977; Columbus, 1978; Green & Cohen, 1979).

Black students are sometimes disciplined for behavior that is allowed white students (Foster, 1977; Green & Cohen, 1979), and there is evidence in a Little Rock study that blacks and whites committing the same offense, e.g., fighting, may be punished differently, with only the black student suspended (Southern Regional Council, 1979).

Where alternatives to suspension have been introduced there is little evidence that racial disparities in discipline have been reduced. Alternative schools may become new ghettos for minority students. Williams reported that alternative programs may become identified as minority programs with the result that majority students refuse assignment to them (see Garibaldi, 1979). He noted a Michigan school that had no white participants in 1975-76 and another district which is 14% black but has 80% black students in its alternative school. The Longfellow Alternative Program, a separate school in Louisville, is overwhelmingly black; 244 of 278 referrals in 1976 were black. In that same district, the Youth Readjustment Program, which uses classrooms in regular schools, is predominantly white; 373 of 512 referrals were white in 1976 (Arnez, 1978). Arnove and Strout (1978) conclude from their nationwide study of alternative schools that they are often used to isolate minority group members who are perceived to have behavioral problems.

Where in-school suspension programs are used, there is no evidence that the racial disproportion of either in- or out-of-school suspensions drop. There is some evidence that the disparity remains even though the overall suspension rates drop (Bickel & Qualls, 1979; Killalea Associates, 1978). Of course, an overall drop in suspensions will reduce their resegregative effect even if disparities remain.

There is some evidence that school climate and teacher attitudes are associated with discipline problems in desegregated schools as well as with disci-

pline problems generally. Desegregation results in a socially heterogeneous population of students within the school. Many teachers are confronted with students whose behavior they do not understand, and they feel ill equipped to respond to or cope with such behavior.

Hispanic students come from a culture in which norms of appropriate behavior differ from white norms. Teachers confronted with Hispanic-appropriate behavior may tend to interpret that behavior from their own Anglo-normative base, thus misinterpreting the student's behavior, intentions, or needs. Black students may adopt styles of dress and behavior that are in conflict with school professionals' sense of propriety. The initial period of desegregation would be particularly difficult; one might expect to find the increase in discipline problems and suspensions that has, in fact, occurred.

There is some evidence that teachers in desegregated schools recognize that a lack of effective communication with students from cultures different from their own contribute to discipline problems. Trent (1981) found 38% of professionals in 17 desegregated districts citing communication problems and insensitivity on the part of school district personnel as factors in increases in discipline problems and racial disproportion in discipline. In an earlier study of a recently desegregated district in the South, white teachers thought their discipline problems with black students were related to their difficulties in communicating with these students. Only half as many black teachers--12% compared to 27% of whites--reported discipline problems with students of the opposite race; and more white teachers attributed these problems to communication problems between the races (Wynn, 1971).

Just as positive teacher attitudes about integration contribute to selection of instructional strategies that facilitate integration (Epstein, 1980), they are also associated with fewer discipline problems. Peretti (1976) reports that teachers who support busing for desegregation perceive a

smaller increase in discipline problems than teachers who oppose it. Bennett and Harris (1981) studied schools in two midwestern cities having from 6% to 20% black enrollments. They found a pattern of differences between student and staff perceptions in schools with a high disproportionality in suspensions and drop-outs and in those with low disproportionality. Furthermore, busing and students' background were not a factor in racial disproportionality in suspensions. Rather, unfair punishment was a characteristic perceived by students in high disproportionality schools. In one city the schools with highest disproportionality were perceived as using unfair punishment and having a poor climate and a negative interracial environment. School life was seen as being dominated by white students, and power was held by school system officials and not shared with "grassroots" groups--students and parents. There was also a greater tendency for students to report a dislike for school.

Schools which did not suspend a disproportionate number of black students were perceived to use fair punishment, to be high in both institutional and grassroots power, and to have a positive interracial environment; school life was characterized by more interracial friendships and was not viewed as being dominated by whites. In the other city studied, these differences, except for fairness of punishment, were not as clearcut. Bennett and Harris (1981) also noted a relationship between racial disparity in suspensions and in drop-outs, but found less disproportionality in drop-outs than in suspensions for all schools.

In summary, there is evidence that discipline practices contribute to resegregation within desegregated schools. Suspensions are a common disciplinary technique, and black students are much more likely to be suspended than other students. This phenomenon of racial disparity is thought to be

acute in recently desegregated schools, particularly those with a proportion of black students above 15%.

The sources of this disparity are not clear, but there is some evidence that the blame cannot be laid entirely on misbehavior of black students. Blacks are somewhat more likely to meet disciplinary action for "subjective" offenses in which school personnel--who may have had little previous contact with black students--must make judgments about appropriate dress, insubordination and so forth. The tendency for black students to be disproportionally suspended is associated with negative teacher attitudes towards integration with reports of communication problems between the races and a perception that discipline is unfairly administered.

Racial disparity in drop-out patterns has also been observed, and there is an association between suspension patterns and drop-out patterns in schools. Perhaps the school drop-out is the most clear-cut behavioral manifestation of a lack of fit between two cultures--that of the student and that of the school.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has focused on the traditional responses of schools to diversity which have collided with desegregation, resulting in resegregation. Schools have traditionally attempted to manage academic heterogeneity by the formation of homogeneous instructional groups. These programmatic regularities of schools (ability grouping and tracking, compensatory education, special education, bilingual education) have resulted in resegregation through student assignment and program organization practices. Factors associated with resegregation through student assignment practices are (1) standardized testing, (2) racial and ethnic bias or cultural insensitivity of school personnel, and (3) student and parent choice. Traditional student assignment practices invariably

result in the disproportionate assignment of minority students to low ability groups and to other programs addressing academic deficiencies. The organization of the programs thus becomes crucial, for it is the organization that determines the degree to which the programs become resegregative. Program organization determines the degree to which minority students have an opportunity for equal status interaction with their majority peers. Full-time programs for special and bilingual education result in the most obvious resegregation. Pull-out programs may be potentially less segregative since less time is usually spent out of the regular classroom. However, we have shown that many minority children may be involved in numerous pull outs on a daily basis, as a result of their eligibility for multiple programs. The fragmented nature of the public policies mandating such programs and the concomitant fragmentation of the services provided at the school level serve to exacerbate the problem of resegregation.

The school's response to the social diversity of the student population is reflected in its disciplinary procedures. Black students, more than Hispanics, are disproportionately suspended. Both blacks and Hispanics drop out of school at disproportionate rates, but Hispanics tend to have a higher drop-out rate than blacks and tend to drop out at an earlier age. The factors associated with resegregation through discipline policies seem to focus on the cultural insensitivity of school personnel, reflected in school climate and teacher attitudes. The drop-out rate of minorities in the school is the ultimate test of "fit" between the school culture and the minority culture.

This chapter has identified ways in which traditional programmatic and behavioral regularities of the schools may become resegregative, and identified the sources from which resegregation occurs. In Chapter Three we will discuss alternatives to these school practices which should result in reduced resegregation.

CHAPTER THREE

ALTERNATIVES TO RESEGREGATIVE PRACTICES

Several traditional educational practices in response to student academic and social diversity were demonstrated to be resegregative in Chapter Two. Resegregation through programmatic regularities was shown to be a function of student assignment practices and program organization. Resegregation through behavioral regularities was associated with the disproportionate number of minority children suspended from school and their disproportionate drop-out rate. This chapter focuses on alternatives to traditional school practices which should reduce or avoid resegregation through student assignment, program organization, classroom organization and instructional practices, and school disciplinary practices.

Alternatives in Student Assignment Practices

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, student assignment to programs relies heavily on the use of standardized test scores. There has been considerable concern that these tests may be biased in ways that produce inaccurate measures of ability for minority group children or that the results may be misused in the process of assessing minority children for placement resulting in resegregation. Assessment for purposes of special education includes the use of tests as tools in the decision-making process. Because assessment is a much broader process than testing, we will present alternatives which apply to tests first, followed by a discussion of alternatives in assessment.

Procedures and Alternatives in the Development of Standardized Tests

There are no legal or governmental standards regarding the development of tests. Standards developed by a joint committee of the American Psychological Association (APA), American Educational Research Association, and the National Council on Measurement in Education have been published by the APA (1974). Based on an examination of general practices in test development and of these published standards, several alternative practices are suggested.

Development of items. The APA standards propose that:

1. A test manual should describe fully the development of the test: the rationale, specifications followed in writing items or selecting observations, and procedures and results of item analysis or other research. Essential (p. 11).

2. The identity and professional qualifications of item writers and editors should be described in instances where they are relevant . . . Desirable (pp. 11-12).

3. Item statistics (such as difficulty or discrimination indices, etc.) should be presented in at least summary form in a test manual. Desirable (p. 52).

In practice, items are most frequently written by white male psychologists and educators. A panel of reviewers conducts a "face" or judgmental review to identify items which are potentially biased. Statistical item analysis is conducted to determine relative placement of items, etc. This does not usually include attention to differential performance by racial and ethnic status. Alternative practices at this stage of test development could include the involvement of more minority professionals in item writing and the conduct of statistical item analysis with attention to differential performance by racial and ethnic groups.

Norming procedures. Consideration of the normative sample is essential to understanding the meaning of individual and group standardized test scores, for it is this sample (group) to whom the individual is being compared. The APA standards urge that:

1. Norms presented in the test manual should refer to defined and clearly described populations. These populations should be the groups with whom users of the test will ordinarily wish to compare the persons tested. Essential (p. 20).

2. Care should be taken to avoid misleading impressions about the generality of normative data. Essential (p. 20).

3. The description of the norms group in the test manual should be complete enough so that the user can judge its appropriateness for his use . . . Essential (p. 21).

4. Local norms are more important for many uses of tests than are published norms. A test manual should suggest using local norms in such situations. Very desirable (p. 22).

There is wide variability in the nature of standardization and norming samples. Some tests have published norms based on the performance of "middle-class white children in Illinois" whereas other test authors have tried to obtain a "representative sample of the U.S." The most widely used and respected tests of achievement and intelligence have norms developed on a "representative sample of the U.S." Thus, blacks comprise approximately 10% of the normative sample. Many critics of current tests assert that it is inappropriate to compare black and Hispanic children to a "sample representative of the U.S. population" in that there are insufficient numbers of minority children included in such samples. Judge Peckham, for example, used this as a primary thesis in his decision in the Larry P. case.

Alternative norming practices could include the development of multiple norms so that individual children may be compared to multiple groups, such as black norms, white norms, Hispanic norms, combined norms, and norms representative of the U.S. population. This would allow for the most appropriate comparisons and multiple comparisons, thus providing greater flexibility in interpretation of scores and subsequent decision-making. Jensen (1973) argues against the multiple-norms approach, suggesting that interpretation would be too complicated. Mercer and Lewis (1978) adopted a pluralistic approach to norming in the SOMPA (an adaptation of multiple norms). The development of local norms could also be encouraged when appropriate.

Establishing reliability. A test must be reliable before it can be valid. Thus information about reliability is essential for conducting a

qualitative review of tests. The APA standards stipulate that:

1. The test manual should present evidence of reliability, including estimates of the standard error of measurement, that permits the reader to judge whether scores are sufficiently dependable for the intended uses of the test . . . Essential (p. 50).

2. The procedures and samples used to determine reliability coefficients or standard errors of measurement (SEM) should be described sufficiently to permit a user to judge the applicability of the data reported to the individuals or groups with which he is concerned. Essential (p. 51).

3. When a test is recommended or ordinarily employed in homogeneous subsamples, the reliability and standard error of measurement should be independently investigated within each subsample and reported in the test manual. Essential (p. 51).

Reliability coefficients are almost always reported in test manuals. Salvia and Ysseldyke (1978) recommend that reliability coefficients of .90 or greater should be prerequisites for decision-making based on resulting test scores. Most widely used and respected group achievement tests (e.g., Stanford Achievement Test, California Achievement Test) and individual tests of intelligence (e.g., WISC-R, Stanford-Binet) have reliability coefficients of at least .90. However, reliability is almost never calculated for different racial or cultural groups. Furthermore, few test manuals present the standard error of measurement, and if they do, they tend not to clearly describe its use.

Alternative practices for establishing reliability could include the calculation and publication of reliability coefficients for each racial/cultural group in the sample, as well as the standard errors of measurement associated with these differential reliability measures. The use of a "band" of scores based on the appropriate standard error of measurement (SEM) more accurately reflects the precision of measurement on a given test than does the single obtained score. For example, if the obtained IQ score on the WISC-R is 68 and the SEM for 90% confidence is six, the resulting IQ score band is 62 through 74. The obtained score of 68 may be below the cutoff point for special education identification as EMR (the lower

limit is frequently 70), but 74 is not. Given the reliability of the test, it is only possible to conclude, with 90% accuracy, that the child scored between 62 and 74. Thus, use of the "band" of scores may affect subsequent decision-making.

Establishing validity. Validity is at the heart of the test bias issue. The real question being asked is whether or not a given test is valid for use with minority populations. It is also important to note that validity is ultimately inferred, not measured. While validity coefficients may be presented in a test manual, it is up to the user to judge, based on these coefficients, whether the validity of the test is adequate for its intended use. The APA standards suggests that:

1. A manual . . . should present the evidence of validity for each type of inference for which use of the test is recommended . . . Essential (p. 31).

2. The manual . . . should provide information on the appropriateness of or limits to the generalizability of validity information. Very desirable (p. 35).

3. The sample employed in a validity study . . . should be consistent with recommended test use and should be described sufficiently for the reader to judge its pertinence to his situation. Essential (p. 36).

4. Whenever possible, there should be an investigation of possible differences in criterion-related validity for ethnic, sex, or other subsamples that can be identified when the test is given. The manual . . . should give the results for each subsample separately or report that no differences were found. Essential (p. 43).

While most test authors present some information relevant to test validity, they usually do not present comparisons of racial and cultural groups. An alternative practice in this regard would be to conduct separate validity studies for each racial and ethnic group for whom the test is intended, and to discuss their implications for the use of the test results in the test manual.

Selection and use of tests. The overriding assumption regarding the use of standardized tests is that the user is an informed consumer. The APA

standards state that professionals who choose tests, interpret scores, or make decisions based on test scores should possess sufficient knowledge of the literature and research on testing to be able to evaluate the information presented and the claims made in test manuals. This includes knowledge of the technical basis of psychological and educational measurement as well as an understanding of related behavioral science findings. The user of tests with minority children must be especially sensitive to the lack of consideration of minorities in the development of standardized tests. In general, test users in schools are not sufficiently aware of (1) the psychometric properties of the tests they use, such as the standard error of measurement, and (2) the literature on the use of tests with minority children.

Providing test users with more comprehensive psychometric information regarding test use with racial and cultural minority populations addresses only one potential source of bias in student assignment procedures--the tests themselves. Other elements of the assessment and decision-making processes using test results also need to be examined in light of possible alternatives.

Procedures and Alternatives in the Referral for Assessment

The beginning point in the psychoeducational assessment of individual children is the classroom teacher's referral. Just as the teacher is the pivot for positive outcomes for desegregation, she/he plays a primary role in the process of placement of children in special education. While it is not true that all referrals are made with special education placement as a motive, it is true that all special education placements begin with the referral (Johnson, 1976). It has been demonstrated that teacher expectations affect student performance (St. John, 1975), and that teachers give differential teaching, treatment, and resources to different children in the classroom

(Brophy & Good, 1970; Leacock, 1969). Variables which affect teacher expectations include appearance, disciplinary conformity, academic conformity, likeability, and peer group relations (Hargreaves, Hester, & Mellon, 1975). To underscore the points made in Chapter Two, many teachers develop stereotyped perceptions of black and Hispanic children as less ambitious, unmotivated, and less promising academically. Thus, minority children are at "high risk" to be referred by teachers (the majority of which are white).

The referral of the child is generally made to the school psychologist or a multidisciplinary team under the auspices of special education. Johnson (1976) commented:

> By making this simple step, the teacher is generally divested of further major responsibility for ensuring improved programming for the student in question. By and large, the teacher conducts business as usual, and the student receives few program modifications while evaluation is pending. In a sense, the teacher shifts the burden of responsibility by making the referral, and the student goes into an educational holding pattern pending "expert" evaluation (p. 48).

The lack of responsibility and even involvement of the regular education teacher is seen beyond the referral stage, and permeates the assessment process and placement decision (Pfeiffer, 1980).

Johnson (1976) points out that there are two decisions/actions within the referral process: (1) making the referral, and (2) accepting the referral. Teachers often refer for testing because that is the only type of help known to them as offered by the special education or psychology "experts." Too frequently, these experts accept the teacher's referral for testing literally, when the teacher may be asking for "help" (Cook, 1979c). Advocates of a consultation model of service delivery suggest that reinterpretation of the referral as a request for help will reduce the number of assessments conducted and enhance the teacher's ability to cope with diversity in the classroom (Cook, 1979c; Caplan, 1970; Meyers, Parsons, & Martin, 1979).

Alternative practices that are implied by the consultation model are aimed at changing teachers' perceptions of minority children and changing the meaning of the referral and its use.

Changing teacher perceptions of minority children. In-service workshops for teachers are recurrently recommended in the desegregation literature (Bell & Semmel, 1978; Bolton, 1973; Edwards, 1966; Hillman & Davenport, 1978; Robinson & Preston, 1976; St. John, 1975; Smylie & Hawley, 1981; Weinberg, 1977; Wennersten, 1974). Demonstrations of the effects of such workshops are limited and seldom examine the practical application of skills of the participants (Weinberg, 1977).

Changing the meaning of the referral. Too often, the referral form completed by the teacher is titled "referral for testing" and requires a brief description of the "presenting problem." Teachers frequently describe the reason for referral with brief phrases such as "slow learner, may have a learning disability, reading problem, discipline." Theoretically and practically, the referral format is making a statement to the teacher about the nature of his/her future responsibilities and the services that he/she can expect--testing.

Helping the teacher understand the referral process. Pfeiffer (1980) recommends workshops and in-service presentations for the teachers on the services available from the multidisciplinary "expert" teams.

Changing acceptance of the referral. Even if the referral form denotes testing, and/or the teacher denotes testing, the multidisciplinary team should be free to reinterpret the referral as a request for help and proceed in a consultation mode. Though no data has been presented, the contentions of the proponents of a consultation model of service delivery seem reasonable. Consultation with individual teachers regarding real problems they are experiencing would seem to result in better understanding of the problems and children, and

greater enhancement of individual teaching skills than would group workshops designed around hypothetical situations.

Increasing teacher involvement and responsibility in the referral and subsequent processes. Some schools are experimenting with a six-week intervention plan following referral, but prior to assessment. The teacher is asked to complete an extensive referral form, outlining the child's school history, and describing the approaches which she/he has attempted with the child and his/her success with each. The "expert" then works with the teacher as a consultant to explore additional intervention strategies within the classroom. Only when both the teacher and consultant agree and when a minimum of six weeks of intervention has been tried, will the child be assessed.

Hargrove, Graham, Ward, Abernathy, Cunningham, and Vaughn (1981) found differences among schools in their handling of the referral process that were related to other school characteristics. Schools in which the referral is seen as the beginning of a consultative process differ from those in which it is seen as a routine request for testing. The consultative process was found more frequently in schools that were rated high on teacher interaction, had principals who were authoritative democratic leaders, and had organizational features and support services that accommodated student diversity. School psychologists received fewer referrals from these schools and were more likely to consult extensively with teachers before testing.

Nondiscriminatory Assessment and Decision-Making

Regardless of the referral procedures and intervention, minority children remain "at risk" in the assessment stage of service delivery given their substantially lower scores on standardized tests of intelligence and achievement. The issue of racial/cultural bias in testing has provoked a great deal of controversy. Though we have been aware of the distortions in test results created by cultural factors for years, this debate has only recently been forcefully brought to our attention through litigation (Oakland & Feigenbaum, 1980). Cook (1979b)

has criticized these court decisions, for example, Diana, Larry P., and PASE, for their narrow focus on the tests used in the assessment process. She explained that there are three sources of bias in assessment: (1) the tests themselves, (2) the assessment process or examiner-examinee transaction, and (3) the decision-making process.

P.L. 94-142 attempts to take all sources of bias into account by requiring a comprehensive psychoeducational evaluation of the child by a trained multidisciplinary team, using standardized, validated tests while relying on no single "procedure" as the criterion for determining appropriate educational programs. These assessment guidelines and the concern about bias in tests has generated the concept of "nondiscriminatory assessment."

The term "assessment" is differentiated from testing in that testing focuses on measurement of "traits" of the individual, such as intelligence, whereas "assessment" focuses on solving problem situations. Tests are measurement tools used in both testing and assessment. The role of tests is primary in testing, the end purpose being attainment of scores for "objective" decision-making. The role of tests is secondary in assessment; assessment is a problem-solving process in which tests are only one of many tools used.

The modifier "nondiscriminatory" refers to assessment procedures which do not discriminate on the basis of race or culture. That is, in nondiscriminatory assessment discrimination occurs only on those real differences not accounted for by race/culture.

The goal of assessment in special education is to identify handicapped children and to delineate their special needs. In contrast, the goal of nondiscriminatory assessment is to delineate individual needs yet differentiate between children who have these needs as handicapped children vs. children who have these needs by virtue of being culturally different.

"Nondiscriminatory assessment is based on the assumption that differing racial and cultural groups have the same average potential . . . and that the between-group differences in average scores on standardized tests . . . is accounted for by different levels of exposure to the cultural materials covered in the tests" (Mercer, 1979). Numerous authors have described various aspects of nondiscriminatory assessment (Alliotti, 1977; Curtis, 1977; Engin, Leappaluoto, & Petty, 1977; Figuero, 1979; Guy, 1977; Mercer, 1979; Mercer & Lewis, 1978; Nazzaro, 1977; Oakland, 1977; Reschly, 1979; Tucker, 1977). Cook (1979a, 1981) has offered a conceptual framework for nondiscriminatory assessment, proposing five models: (1) psychometric, (2) alternative, (3) transactional, (4) ecological, and (5) interdisciplinary. These five models are described and offered here as strategies to avoid or reduce resegregation at the assessment stage.

Psychometric model. The psychometric model attempts to control for bias as a result of the characteristics of the testing instruments used in assessment. This model relies on the examiner's knowledge of the psychometric basis of the test.

The first approach to control for test bias is the development of tests with attention to minority representation throughout all phases of the development of the test itself as noted earlier in this chapter. Because there is no guarantee of a "good" psychometric basis of the available instruments, the examiners must be able to judge the relative merits of each instrument. Unfortunately, familiarity with the test manual is not sufficient. Many of the issues related to non-discriminatory assessment in the psychometric model have been addressed by researchers comparing white and minority children's

performance on specific tests. An example of a psychometric approach to non-discriminatory assessment is that of Kaufman's interpretation guidelines for the Wechsler Intelligence Test for Children--Revised (1979). His approach is based in the research regarding the WISC-R in addition to knowledge of the psychometric basis of the test and test administration.

A second psychometric approach to the control of test bias has been the development of tests which are designed to either reduce cultural influence or produce culture-free or culture-fair tests. Such attempts have generally been regarded as failures (Sattler, 1974). The most common attempt to reduce cultural influence is to eliminate the language factor. However, nonverbal tests are not culture free as they require analytical thinking, an approach with which children from some cultural groups may have had little experience (Cohen, 1969). The opposite approach of developing culturally specific tests (e.g., Williams, 1975) has been found equally unacceptable. Such tests require highly specific information gained through specific experiences of narrowly defined cultural subgroups and have not been shown to predict socially useful criteria (Bennett, 1970).

Unfortunately, translating tests or test instructions from English to other languages has recently become common practice. This movement is likely to be in response to the legal mandate to assess children using their preferred language. However, bilingualism is not limited to language, but includes different learning experiences, cultural values and expectations (Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974). Sattler (1974) concluded: "Translation of a test makes it a hybrid belonging to neither culture . . . . (T)he need is for construction of tests in the native language, with native cultural norms, administered by

native psychologists" (p. 39).

In summary, the psychometric model of nondiscriminatory assessment attempts to control for bias as a result of the testing instruments. The psychometric approach would support the use of tests based on sound technical aspects of adequate norming sample, reliability, and validity. This model is most consistent with the courts' concerns around the nature of the tests used in the assessment process, but as previously discussed, test bias is only one source of bias in the assessment of minority children. The psychometric model is necessary but not sufficient for a nondiscriminatory assessment.

Alternative assessment model. The alternative assessment model attempts to control for bias by using non-traditional assessment techniques which are potentially culture fair. Those who have pursued alternative assessment measures have generally done so out of disillusionment with traditional, normed, psychometric instruments.

The first of these techniques is criterion-referenced assessment, a measurement approach in which a level of mastery of the tested material is obtained as a "score." The measuring device can be either a standardized test or a locally constructed measure. Criterion-referenced assessment is a method of test interpretation rather than a type of test itself (Simon, 1967). The test interpreter describes exactly what behaviors the child has mastered and the ones with which he/she had difficulty. Thus, test interpretation is always relative both to the absolute criterion, or mastery level set for the child, and to the criterion test content (Popham & Husek, 1969). No normative or peer-referenced implications are drawn. The goal of this approach is to group students on the basis of demonstrated skills, rather than ability

quotients (Duffey & Fedner, 1978). The assessment provides the beginning point for instruction as well as continuous assessment of progress in the instructional program. The criterion-referenced approach has also been known as "mastery testing" (Mayo, 1970) and "domain-referenced testing" (Nitko & Hsu, 1974). At first impression, criterion-referenced assessment appears to be "culture-fair." However, the objectives chosen for learning and social behavior and the nature of the test items will, by definition, reflect the culture of the school.

The second alternative model is that of Piagetian assessment. "Within a Piagetian paradigm, intelligence is viewed as a process rather than a static entity unmodifiable by experience" (Kratochwill, 1977, p. 300). Piagetian techniques can be used to determine a child's level of reasoning and conceptual development as prerequisites to specific learning (Wadsworth, 1978). Let's Look at Children (1975), a combined assessment and instructional program for pre-kindergarten through grade 3, is based on Piagetian theory. The assessment component defines the developmental processes of the children and the instructional component provides experiences related to the development of the corresponding skills and understandings (Anastasi, 1976, p. 432). Hunt and Kirk (1974) describe a Piagetian-based school readiness procedure. Currently, there are no Piagetian-based tests for use with older children. Wadsworth (1978) suggests that Piagetian assessment is primarily a method and philosophy whereby the examiner can develop his/her own tasks for assessment. It had been hoped that Piagetian assessment would be culture-free, however, Boehm (1966) and Hunt and Kirk (1974) demonstrated marked differences in the attainment of concepts by children in varying socioeconomic groups.

The third approach, learning-potential assessment, provides an

"examination of learning and strategies which facilitate acquisition of new information or skills" (Kratochwill, 1977). Learning-potential assessment uses a test-teach-retest paradigm where actual learning ability and strategy is observed. This approach has been developed by Feuerstein (1979) into the Learning Potential Assessment Device, which assesses "the process of learning across a large number of the cognitive operations that are necessary for selectively complex learning, and for relating performance in these areas to specified educational intervention techniques" (Haywood, 1977, p. 17). The accompanying educational techniques, Instrumental Enrichment, are designed to "enhance development in the very areas of cognitive deficiency that have been identified by the LPAD."

Budoff and his associates have used this assessment paradigm with a number of nonverbal stimuli (Budoff, 1967; Budoff, 1972; Budoff & Friedman, 1964). Assessment yields three types of groupings: (1) initially high scorers who gain little from teaching, (2) initially low scorers who demonstrate gain with teaching, and (3) initially low scorers who do not gain from teaching (Budoff, Meskin, & Harrison, 1971). Budoff (1972) concludes that a large number of IQ-defined retardates show learning potential, and are not mentally retarded but educationally retarded.

Learning-potential assessment procedures show promise for predicting the ability to learn. Kratochwill (1977) summarized the two main criticisms of the work done thus far: (1) it has been restricted for use with the mentally retarded--would it apply to other special education classifications? and (2) the tasks and teaching used in this approach reflect different content from classroom learning tasks--will the ability to profit from teaching generalize?

There are, of course, other procedures that might be considered alternatives to traditional psychometric procedures, for example, neuropsychological

assessment. The learning-potential assessment procedures show the greatest promise as a nondiscriminatory approach to assessment, whereas the criterion-referenced assessment procedures provide the most direct application to classroom instruction. Kratochwill (1977) labeled such alternatives "extras," suggesting that they be used in addition to traditional approaches to assessment.

Transactional assessment model. The transactional assessment model attempts to control for bias resulting from the examiner x student x environment transaction. In the large sense, this bias results from the examiner's unfamiliarity with the cultural background of the student. Little attention has been paid to this factor in research. Rather, researchers have focused on "atmosphere bias" (Flaugher, 1978; Reschly, 1979), a narrow view of the examiner x student x environment transaction.

The standardized assessment "atmosphere" is frequently considered unfair to minority children. Suspect elements include the nature of the questions and responses required, the physical setting of the room, race and sex of the examiner, expectancies of the examiner, and style of the examiner. Reschly (1979) summarized the reviews of the research on atmosphere bias concluding that (1) much of the research was poorly designed, (2) some of the studies used experimental manipulations that are atypical and inconsistent with good testing practices, (3) the results of reasonably well-controlled studies in which the variables manipulated were within the range of good testing practices are contradictory, (4) examiner expectancies for performance may influence scoring of responses on items where there is some subjectivity in evaluating responses, and (5) when differences due to atmospheric effects are reported, the size of the differences is usually fairly small. Millsap and Cook (1980) assert that one reason for the inconsistency of research results in this area,

in addition to poor design, is lack of attention to the appropriate question. That is, the question should not be "does race of the examiner make a difference" but what is essential to the examiner-examinee relationship that allows the examiner to transcend race as a factor? Transactional assessment is a process approach to assessment which fully involves the examiner, student, and perhaps the student's family, in order to maximize student performance.

It has been suggested that the degree to which a child becomes involved in the assessment tasks may be related to his/her understanding of the procedures (Byrnes, 1979; Cook, 1979b; Cook & Lundberg, 1978; Fischer & Brodsky, 1978). Bersoff (1973) and Cook and Lundberg (1978) describe methods of informing and involving the child in the assessment procedures. Cook and Plas (1980) and Martinez-Morales and Cook (1981) expand the concept of involvement of the child to include the parent(s). Involvement of the parent in interviews, observation of testing, and drawing of conclusions is especially helpful in the assessment of bilingual/bicultural children. The parent is not only used as a resource but as a partner in the assessment process. The involvement of the parent plays on the strength of the minority culture, especially Hispanic, as more emphasis is placed on family values, for example, the culture dictates that the Hispanic child should achieve for the family (Coles, 1977; Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974).

Many psychologists would agree that the information obtained from standardized testing is not so much the score achieved but the observed knowledge of the way the child approaches a task. Meyers, Sunstrom, and Yoshida (1974) recommend attending to observation of reaction to failure, motivation, etc., to develop an "experience table." Sattler (1974) further recommends "testing the limits" by going back to the item <u>after</u> standardized administration and varying directions, time, guidance, and so forth, in completing the task. Reliance

on clinical observations have been criticized frequently, but Haywood (1977) counters: "It is time to return the intelligent observer to psychology, and to stop trying to reduce the psychologist to a mere recorder of data that can then be referred to as a computerized set of comparison norms" (p. 17). The examiner does need to be aware of the effects of his/her own values on clinical observations, however, such observations are of great value when trying to understand the child and his/her scored performance on a task.

In summary, the transactional assessment model attempts to control for bias resulting from the examiner's unfamiliarity of the child's culture, and, more specifically, for atmosphere bias. Transactional procedures rely on the individual expertise of the examiner to obtain the best performance possible from the child by involving the child and the child's parent(s). Clinical observations are considered essential to a nondiscriminatory assessment.

Ecological assessment model. The ecological model attempts to control for bias by examining the child in context of his/her environment, comparing competencies across settings. The relevance of performance obtained in a one-to-one assessment setting to real-life situations has been criticized (Bersoff, 1971). Furthermore, one must question whether the child's learning problem is a function of the child's internal nature, the teaching approach, the curriculum, the teacher x child interaction, or any combination of events resulting from the child x teacher x environment transaction.

Ecological assessment includes descriptions of the environments of the child, expectations for the child in those environments and the degree to which they are met, and the social interactions of the child with others--children and adults--in the setting. Wallace and Larsen (1978) describe the diagnostic tools used in ecological assessment: systematic observation (duration recording, interval recording, continuous recording), teacher-child interaction

systems, checklists and rating scales, and sociometric techniques. Because ecological assessment should include assessment of the child in his/her ecologies other than school, assessment of adaptive behavior is included in this model.

The inclusion of adaptive behavior assessment is an extremely potent nondiscriminatory assessment procedure. When assessing individuals having IQs below 70 (the "cutoff" for EMR), Mercer (1973) found that 60% of the Hispanics and 90.9% of the blacks with low IQs passed the adaptive behavior criterion, thus ruling out the diagnosis of EMR. In contrast, none of the whites with low IQs passed the adaptive behavior criterion. The inclusion of adaptive behavior assessment is essential to nondiscriminatory assessment, and its consideration in the diagnosis of mental retardation is required under P.L. 94-142. A variety of adaptive behavior measures are available; the choice of instrument should depend upon the population for which it was intended, the normative sample, and other psychometric properties.

Interdisciplinary assessment model. The interdisciplinary model attempts to control for bias as a result of the human decision-making process. The rationale for this approach is the "two heads are better than one" axiom. The interdisciplinary approach brings together a variety of professionals who have worked with the child with their discipline's techniques, approaches, and framework. The interdisciplinary team is to include the child's teacher as the professional educator with whom the child has the most contact. Under P.L. 94-142, the child's parents and possibly the child are also included.

P.L. 94-142 requires a multidisciplinary team of professionals for the assessment process. A multidisciplinary approach is differentiated from the interdisciplinary approach by the degree of intrateam communication involved. Multidisciplinary is suggestive of multiple approaches of a variety of pro-

fessionals whereas interdisciplinary is suggestive of an integrated approach by a variety of professionals.

The decision-making processes of interdisciplinary teams have received little attention in research. Yoshida, Fenton, Maxwell, and Kaufman (1978) found that the degree of member participation on the interdisciplinary team was related to satisfaction with the team's decisions. They conclude that regular education teachers were lowest in participation and satisfaction whereas school psychologists were ranked highest on both variables. Armer and Thomas (1978) noted that school personnel were aware of differences in the ways high and low collaboration teams operate and that a higher degree of collaboration led to a more positive view of the interdisciplinary team. Furthermore, high collaborative teams were seen as more cooperative and independent than were the less collaborative teams. Weatherley (1979) found a strong tendency for professionals to reach a consensus before parents were involved, so that parents' understanding of and influence on the process were very limited. Professional decisions were strongly influenced by the services already offered by the school system and by financial limitations on the expansion of those services. In other words, the bureaucratic setting in which the interdisciplinary teams operate was found to exercise constraints on the breadth of their deliberations and on their outcomes.

Integration of models of nondiscriminatory assessment. Because each of the models of nondiscriminatory assessment described above addresses different sources of bias in the assessment process, it is obvious that no one model can stand alone in the nondiscriminatory assessment of children. Rather, these models need to be integrated in an approach to service delivery.

One attempt at an integrated approach to nondiscriminatory assessment is that of the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA)(Mercer &

Lewis, 1978). Though Mercer (1979) describes her approach as one incorporating three general assessment models (medical, social system, and pluralistic), the SOMPA also integrates the psychometric, ecological, and interdisciplinary models of nondiscriminatory assessment. Psychometrically, Mercer has chosen to develop pluralistic norms, that is, separate norms for cultural groups. Ecologically, Mercer has included a thorough assessment of adaptive behavior. The SOMPA procedures require a multidisciplinary evaluation which includes health screening along with techniques employed by school psychologists and/or social workers. Though there is a heavy emphasis on parent involvement (for example, in health history and adaptive behavior assessment), the SOMPA relies on the parent as an information resource rather than a collaborator; thus does not meet the test for the transactional model of nondiscriminatory assessment.

The SOMPA is the best organized approach to nondiscriminatory assessment, however, it has not gone without criticism. Oakland (1979) and Brown (1979) express concern over SOMPA's Estimated Learning Potential. There has been no empirical evidence presented to support Mercer's rational argument for its use. Oakland noted that his research determined the actual WISC-R IQ's to be better predictors of achievement than ELP's. A second emphasis of most critics is the restricted nature of the California-based normative sample. Oakland (1979) reported differences in the average performance on SOMPA's adaptive behavior instrument between California and Texas Mexican-American children. Extreme caution has been suggested regarding the use of the published norms; users have been encouraged to develop local norms. Critiques of the SOMPA have generally questioned the psychometric basis of the system yet commend the goals of the system (Brown, 1979; Goodman, 1979; Oakland, 1979). Though no empirical studies are available regarding the effects of using the SOMPA for identification of minority handicapped children, it is reasonable to assume that fewer minority

children would be identified as retarded, given the nature of the system and the modification of the IQ into an ELP. Talley (1979) evaluated the effects of implementing the SOMPA in a Colorado school system. Her study was conducted from a qualitative perspective relying heavily on the perceptions of participating school administrators. She found that the administrators were very positive and supportive of the use of the SOMPA.

The SOMPA is only one attempt at integration of some of the components of these models of nondiscriminatory assessment. A fully integrated approach should rely on a nondiscriminatory model of service delivery by well-trained professionals of an interdisciplinary team. These professionals should have an understanding and respect for cultural diversity, a firm knowledge of child development, pathology, and education, the ability to go beyond traditional psychometric procedures using alternative assessments, and the ability to work well with other professionals, the regular classroom teacher, parents, and the children.

Alternatives in the Organization of Categorical Programs

The three categorical programs which result in resegregation were identified in Chapter Two: compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education. The degree to which these programs result in resegregation is very much a function of their organization. Because each of these programs have been designed to meet differing individual needs of students, the alternatives in organization will be presented separately.

Compensatory Education

Organization relying on "pull out" has been almost universal in compensatory education programs (see Chapter Two). If, as we have suggested, the primary cause for reliance on pullout in compensatory education programs lies in the federal guidelines for achieving compliance, then we would expect

alternative allocative and regulatory mechanisms to reduce this practice and concomitantly, its resegregative effects. Some NIE demonstration projects and amendments in Title I legislation provide an opportunity to assess these possible consequences.

As part of its 1974 charge from Congress to conduct a large-scale evaluation of compensatory education before its 1978 consideration of reauthorization of Title I, NIE conducted demonstration projects in 13 school districts using different ways of allocating Title I funds among and within schools. The basic change was to incorporate educational achievement criteria in determining school criteria, a proposal that has been periodically debated in Congress. (The statutory formula uses only poverty criteria to target schools, with achievement determining student eligibility within schools.) A variety of allocation changes were implemented by the participating districts: six served low-achieving pupils in all elementary schools, two served all schools with a designated percentage of low-achieving pupils, three combined poverty and achievement in selecting schools, and two served all pupils in schools with at least 50% eligible enrollment. The formula changes produced differences in Title I programs in terms of overall level of service, student characteristics, and type of service. In most districts, more schools and more students received services, and both staff and expenditures were increased. Slightly lower percentages of minority and poor students and a slightly higher percentage of low-achieving students were served, but with wide variation among districts. Most important, Title I students received an average of five percent less compensatory instruction time but 14% more regular instruction time in reading and language arts. There was no average loss of instructional time with specialists. The implication of these figures is that, due to the increased numbers of Title I schools and students, pullout

was used slightly less. While this may be viewed as a dilution of the intensity of service, it was more than offset by the additional instruction in the regular classroom (Milne, 1977).

The 1978 amendments to Title I added a Schoolwide Projects provision that allows all students in a school to receive services if 75% of them are eligible. The state or school district must provide the equivalent of the Title I per pupil expenditure for the remaining students. Use of this option lifts the prohibition against combining Title I funds with other revenue sources, the requirement to identify the eligible students, and the supplementation requirement. The intent of the Schoolwide Projects option is to allow school districts to use Title I funds to improve the entire educational program in schools serving predominantly Title I-eligible students. An assessment of the first year of implementation of Schoolwide Projects in 19 schools focused on four objectives: to reduce or eliminate pullout programs, to facilitate school-level program administration, to facilitate comprehensive collaborative school-level planning (the amendment requires such a plan), and not to dilute services to Title I students (Rubin & David, 1981). The study concluded that most participating schools that had used pullouts eliminated them and instituted in-class programs instead. Some schools reduced class size and implemented change in their overall instructional program. In most schools Title I funds continued to be kept in separate accounts, however, the administrative burden on teachers and Title I coordinators was greatly reduced. Impressionistic evidence indicated that services to Title I students were not diluted, due to the supplementary state/local funding and the increased efficiency of including all students. The comprehensive collaborative planning requirement did not foster new schoolwide planning activities; participating schools with effective planning processes had already instituted

them, and the other schools met the requirement mechanistically and without the broad participation that was intended.

This initial assessment of Schoolwide Projects implementation suggests that pullout can be eliminated with no apparent ill effects, and that schools are not reluctant to do so. Only five out of the 19 schools in the study retained pullouts, and at least two of these did so because they were not fully informed about Schoolwide Project provisions (Rubin & David, 1981). A necessary caveat, however, is that schools eligible for this option are those in which pullouts would probably be most burdensome; schools with relatively few Title I students might find it less attractive to change this method of service delivery.

Providing Title I services in the regular classroom rather than in pull-out groups can be facilitated by defining the role of the Title I specialist as a consultant and resource person rather than simply as a subject matter specialist. Tobin and Bonner (1977) describe such a role definition for the Title I mathematics teachers in the Philadelphia school system. Instead of working with groups of students, the mathematics resource teachers act as consultants to regular classroom teachers and other school personnel. They assist teachers in assessing specific learning problems and preparing individual learning plans, train classroom aides and parent volunteers, and help the principal plan the schoolwide mathematics program. While the authors do not provide comparative data, they do show that modest achievement gains in math have been accomplished in the city's Title I elementary schools since the resource program was instituted.

In addition to resegregation resulting from the use of pullout, the effect of this practice on the coordination and planning of instruction has also been a source of concern. Kimbrough and Hill (1981) have described the effects of

multiple pullouts on teachers' ability to plan and schedule instruction in the core curriculum. Other authors have suggested that coordination and joint planning of regular and compensatory education is a critical factor in the effectiveness of compensatory services, whether pullout or mainstream approaches are used (Glass & Smith, 1977; Frechtling & Hammond, 1978).

Some evidence of the importance of schoolwide coordination and climate is available in evaluations of compensatory education programs. In the ETS study of Title I, the more successful programs in raising achievement were found in schools with the following characteristics: effective educational leadership and attention to basic skills (especially reading), a broad range of instructional materials; professional interaction among teachers (Rossi, McLaughlin, Campbell, and Everett, 1977).

A three-year evaluation of ESAA produced similar findings about school characteristics. An in-depth study of the ESAA elementary schools that showed the largest reading and math achievement gains, compared to control-group schools, identified the following elements of success: administrative leadership in instruction (including planning and evaluation), schoolwide reading and math instructional practices that emphasized behavioral objectives and individualized instruction, and the use of remedial specialists in a variety of ways, including consultation with regular teachers (Coulson, Hanes, Ozene, Bradford, Doherty, Duck, and Hemenway, 1977). The study examined achievement gains of a random sample of all students, since ESAA does not require targeting of eligible students as does Title I. Most of the ESAA schools also had Title I programs and large proportions of minority and low-achieving students.

The Schoolwide Projects evaluation showed that although schools made programmatic changes, school-level collaborative planning is not as easy to induce from the federal level (Rubin & David, 1981). The state of California

has instituted a School Improvement Program (SIP) in which schools submit a consolidated application form for Title I and state CE funds. The emphasis is on developing an integrated school program. Federal Title I officials are critical of this approach because state and federal funds are combined. Title I and state CE staff are not organizationally separate in the state agencies. In school districts, school CE positions are frequently "multi-funded"--a single position is funded by a combination of programs (Kimbrough & Hill, 1981; Goettel, 1978). Nevertheless, the California SIP represents one approach to improve local coordination efforts in schools where several categorical programs are operating. Such coordination is necessary to reduce the resegregative impact on multiply eligible children.

Special Education

Civil rights concerns regarding the disproportionate placement of black and Hispanic children in EMR classes were one of the major forces in the mainstreaming movement. Dunn (1968) noted this racial disparity in his influential article questioning the appropriateness of separate special education classes for many mildly handicapped children. These concerns have affected public policy through both judicial and legislative decisions. In P.L. 94-142, both the provisions requiring nondiscriminatory assessment and those governing placement in the "least restrictive environment" (LRE) that is individually appropriate reflect an awareness of the racially segregative record of special education.

The LRE doctrine does not require mainstreaming (at least part-time placement in a regular classroom with nonhandicapped peers) for all handicapped children, but it is a likely alternative for the mildly handicapped--learning disabled (LD) and educable mentally retarded (EMR). Thus it is important to ask what the effects of the practice have been for mainstreamed

minority children. This discussion will focus on the mainstreaming of EMR children, since that is the category in which the minority placement rates continue to be the highest.

Extent of mainstreaming. The 1978 Office of Civil Rights survey indicated that 54% of EMR pupils are mainstreamed for part of the day. This is considerably lower than the comparable figures for children with speech handicaps (98%) and learning disabilities (87%), and about the same as for those with emotional disturbances (53%). Most EMR children are in the regular education program only for a small portion of their time; 85 % remain in special classes 10 hours a week or more (National Center for Policy Review, 1980). There are wide regional differences in the extent of mainstreaming of EMR pupils that bear some correspondence to differences in the black placement rate and disproportion in this category.

Region	Percent EMR Mainstreamed	Black EMR Placement Rate*	Black:White EMR Placement Ratio**
South	67	4.45%	4.00:1
Border	56	3.21%	1.95:1
West	49	.95%	1.60:1
Midwest	47	3.49%	2.60:1
Northeast	37	1.91%	2.40:1
U.S.	54	3.45%	3.25:1

(Source: National Center for Policy Review, 1980)
*Percent of all black students placed in EMR.
**Percent of all black students placed in EMR:Percent of all white students placed in EMR.

Schools in the South place a much greater percentage of their black students in EMR than of white students, having the highest placement rate and also the greatest racial imbalance of any region. However, there is also more mainstreaming of EMR children in the South.

Effects of mainstreaming. The large number of studies comparing the efficacy of special and regular class placement for EMR pupils have been thoroughly reviewed by several authors and need only be briefly summarized here (Abramson, 1980; Corman & Gottlieb, 1978; Semmel, Gottlieb, & Robinson, 1979). Most

studies have failed to show significant differences in academic achievement between the two types of placement. When the comparison includes special class, regular class, and regular class with resource room services, slight gains have been found for resource room participants over special class pupils, but not over regular class EMR pupils without these services. In one large-scale study, mainstreamed EMR pupils exhibited more academic engagement (attention to academic tasks, cognitive interactions with teacher) when in the resource room than in the regular classroom, but their achievement levels remained comparable to those of the special class pupils (Kaufman, Agard, & Semmel, 1978).

In the area of social and personal adjustment, little evidence exists that mainstreamed EMR children have more positive self-concepts or higher rates of acceptance by their nonretarded peers (Corman & Gottlieb, 1978; Semmel, Gottlieb, & Robinson, 1979). Structured interventions have been shown to improve social acceptance of these children, but the improvement may not be sustained beyond the duration of the treatment (Chennault, 1967; Rucker & Vincenzo, 1970).

Much of this research has been plagued by methodological weaknesses, especially selection bias. In addition, there is a lack of specificity about curricular and other differences between and within regular and special classrooms. One study that carefully examined differences among classrooms found that the social performance of mainstreamed EMR pupils did vary according to classroom environment. Kaufman, Agard, and Semmel (1978) observed that EMR pupils had higher social status and exhibited less antisocial behavior in socially cohesive and harmonious classrooms.

In sum, at this time no particular special education program, mainstream or segregated, has a strong empirical basis in either the cognitive or the

affective domain. Thus the strongest arguments in favor of mainstreaming remain legal and moral ones: "The argument (is) not advanced that retarded children will perform better in mainstreamed settings, only that they will not perform worse. The data support the latter assertion" (Semmel, Gottlieb, & Robinson, 1979, p. 269).

Racial effects of mainstreaming. There have only been a few studies investigating the extent to which mainstreaming has contributed to racial integration within classrooms. So far the evidence is not encouraging. A large study in the state of Texas indicated that black and Hispanic EMR pupils were likely to be mainstreamed into regular classes that were already disproportionately composed of students of their own race (Gottlieb, Agard, Kaufman, & Semmel, 1976). In California, where court orders and legislation resulted in the decategorization of large numbers of EMR children over a four-year period, the overrepresentation of black and Hispanic children declined only slightly. From 1969 to 1973, the EMR enrollment was reduced by over 20,000 students. However, the proportion from minority groups (black and Hispanic) changed from 55.3% to 48%, still significantly higher than their proportion of total school enrollment (Yoshida, MacMillan, & Meyers, 1976). In another study conducted in Texas, EMR children were apt to be mainstreamed into low-track regular classes (Kaufman et al., 1978). In both of the Texas studies, it appeared that the sample schools were disproportionately composed of minority students, rather than reflecting within-school segregation.

In summary, little systematic evidence is available on the effectiveness of various mainstreaming strategies. Most studies, with the exception of Project PRIME (Kaufman et al., 1978), have made gross comparisons between special and regular class placements. As an alternative to resegregation, mainstreaming can only be effective if schools and regular classrooms are integrated and organized to accommodate a diverse range of students.

Bilingual Education

> There are ways to avoid separation, either by teaching all children in a given school both languages; by emphasizing individualized instruction; or by having the children together in non-verbal subject areas such as physical education, music, art and separating them for other subject matters where language comprehension is crucial. (Brisk, 1978, p. 69)

Models of bilingual education. The relationship of the continuum of models of bilingual education to resegregation is primarily found in the characteristics of the students participating in each of these models. ESL is by definition segregative, since the only participants in ESL programs are LEP students. However, participation in ESL classes is likely to be for only a portion of the day and/or for only a relatively short term within the child's educational career. Therefore, the segregative nature of the program by its participants may be offset by the time in that segregated activity. All other models (bilingual education, bilingual-bicultural education, bilingual-bicultural-bicognitive education) may be segregative or integrative depending on the goals (transition or maintenance), student participants (one-way or two-way), and organizational structure.

When considering resegregation, the choice of a transition or maintenance program must rely in great part on the expected participants in the program (one-way or two-way). Transition programs are generally associated with remedial or compensatory education; such programs will not attract white or black students (Carter, 1979; Epstein, 1977; Fernandez & Guskin, 1981; Vazquez, 1976). Thus, participants in a transition program are likely to be Hispanos or other linguistic minorities. The segregation by ethnicity may be offset by the temporary nature of the program. Should a district choose to implement a transitional program, emphasis must be placed on the organizational structure of the program if resegregation is to be minimized.

One-way maintenance programs are segregative by participants. However, if they have an integrative organizational structure, they may not be segregative by time.

LEP students may join their English proficient peers for coursework and activities that do not rely heavily on English proficiency. Maintenance programs are often designed so that the amount of time spent in the bilingual program decreases with the age of the child. It may be designed, for example, so that an Hispanic child eventually is involved in the program for only Spanish language class.

Two-way maintenance programs are by definition integrative. Such programs are most appropriate for communities having a relatively large proportion of Hispanos. The involvement of other-than-Hispanic students is most likely to occur under local circumstances where Spanish proficiency has economical and political relevance.

Two-way bilingual education programs have been implemented in Dade County, Florida (described by Cohen, 1975; Gaarder, 1975; Mackey & Beebe, 1977). In the spring of 1963, Coral Way Elementary School was designated to become bilingual. As success was demonstrated at Coral Way, other schools in Dade County became bilingual. The specific organization of the bilingual programs varies among the schools, but all provide instruction in both English and Spanish to all students. Hispanic and non-Hispanic students are separated for Spanish courses (Spanish for Spanish speakers or Spanish as a second language) and for English courses (English language arts or English as a second language). The degree to which students were grouped together for curriculum instruction in English or Spanish varied among the schools. As the first "graduates" of Coral Way entered junior high, the secondary schools began reorganization to include bilingual programs. All students are enrolled in required courses, such as English language arts, science, math, social studies. Elective courses were designed specifically for Coral Way (bilingual) graduates, such as Spanish for Spanish speakers and Spanish as a second language.

Additionally, some courses in social science and science are taught bilingually.

The two-way bilingual programs in Dade County have been quite effective. Mackey and Beebe (1977) noted that by completion of elementary school, Spanish speakers were approaching equal proficiency in English and Spanish, though native English speakers remained more proficient in English. Native English speakers in bilingual programs did as well as controls in English language arts. Consistent growth in English reading comprehension, but not as much in vocabulary, was associated with participation in ESL. Reading comprehension in Spanish decreased as participation in ESL increased. Hispanos enrolled in Spanish for Spanish-speakers showed consistent gains and high achievement in Spanish; interestingly, their English reading skills improved as a result of their participation in this component of the program. English-speaking students enrolled in Spanish as a second language showed a well-defined trend of improvement in Spanish reading comprehension and vocabulary as a function of length of participation in the program. Furthermore, their participation in the Spanish course did not interfere with the acquisition of English language skills, rather positive correlations between Spanish as a second language and reading skills in English were found. Thus, regardless of native language, learning a second language was associated with increased reading achievement in the native language. Overall, Dade County bilingual students (both Spanish and English speakers) performed as well as controls in language arts and math; at the same time Spanish-speaking pupils were learning to read and write their native language and English-speaking pupils were learning a second language (Cohen, 1975).

Two-way bilingual programs tend to be "fragile," that is, their continued existence depends upon the commitment of school personnel and the community to

the two-way program. Carter and Segura (1979) described a successful two-way bilingual program adopted by the United Consolidated Independent School District in Laredo, Texas. The program was implemented in two phases: Phase 1 was focused on remedial skill building, an Phase 2 was total bilingual instruction for all students, beginning in the first grade (in 1964) and gradually implemented as these students progressed through the grades. After three years of total bilingual instruction, the following effects were found: (1) Only children who were bilinguals at school entrance retained any noticeable accent in English. The other groups spoke unaccented English and Spanish. (2) In reading achievement, Spanish monolinguals were slightly above average at first grade, and slightly below at the second grade; English monolinguals and bilinguals were substantially above grade level norms at both grades. However, this two-way maintenance program no longer exists: "Changes in administration and a series of program revisions have redirected the effort. Instead of the maintenance-enrichment program of the 1960s, there is now a transition model that is not significantly different from any other mandated bilingual program in Texas" (Carter & Segura, 1979, pp. 341-342).

Bilingual program organization. The organizational continuum described here is a modification of Carter's (1979) organizational typology of bilingual programs in balanced school settings. Table 3.1 summarizes the appropriateness of each organization type for the various models of bilingual education. The usual program duration is presented as noted by Carter (1979) and is not to imply the ideal duration. By definition, transition programs would have shorter durations than maintenance programs. Additionally, bilingual programs should be available at all levels, K-12, due to the mobility of the Hispanic population. The organization of secondary school bilingual programs should focus on the individual linguistic needs of the student. Because segregation

TABLE 3.1

Organizational Continuum of Bilingual Education

Organizational Type	Models of Bilingual Ed.						Usual Daily Exposure		Usual Program Duration
	ESL	BE, BBE, Bilingual Ed.	Transition	Maintenance	One-Way	Two-Way	If one-way	If two-way	
ILP	X	X	X		X	X	partial		Short-term
RESOURCE ROOM(S)	X	X	X		X		partial		K-3
CLASSROOM(S)	X	X	X	X	X	X	partial		K-3
MAGNET SCHOOLS									
Magnet Strands	X	X	X	X	X	X	partial	full	K-6 (+)
Full Magnets	X	X	X	X		X		full	K-6 (+)
TOTAL DISTRICT	X	X	X	X		X		full	K-6 (+)

of Hispanic students is most serious in the elementary grades, this organizational continuum is oriented toward integration in the elementary school.

In an Individual Learning Plan (ILP) organization, instruction may be provided in the classroom in a quiet corner, like a reading group, or on a pull out basis; it may be entirely individual or done with very small groups of children. The ILP organization is characterized by (1) emphasis on the language arts, (2) early exit into the mainstream, (3) minimal reliance on the first language, and (4) emphasis on ESL techniques. This is the simplest, but not necessarily the best, way to organize for very few students of a given language group given few resources.

The resource room, also called a "language lab," depends on a pull out organization, requiring that the LEP student leave the regular classroom for focus instruction with a bilingual teacher. The resource room organization is characterized by (1) a focus on ESL, (2) some Spanish reading and language arts, (3) some content areas in English, in the regular classroom, and (4) some content areas in Spanish, in the resource room. The objective is the rapid learning of English and return to the full-time regular class. Resource rooms share the problems associated with pull out programs in general. Additionally, the instruction provided may be closer to tutoring rather than to the development of a sequential curriculum (Carter, 1979). If the students are very limited in English, they may be spending long periods of time in the resource room because they are unable to understand English-only instruction (Fernandez & Guskin, 1981). However, the resource room is a more complete organizational model of bilingual education than the ILP, and provides for greater integration than one-way classrooms; thus, it may be the best model for a limited number of LEP students given limited resources.

Bilingual classrooms may be one-way or two-way. If one-way, LEP students should be mainstreamed for part of the day. If two-way, bilingual classes can be full-time, self-contained. Bilingual classrooms are characterized by (1) some ESL for LEP students, (2) some Spanish reading and language arts for LEP students, (3) some Spanish as a second language for English-speaking students, if two-way, (4) some content areas in Spanish, and (5) some content areas in English in two-way programs. In one-way programs the LEP students are mainstreamed for content areas in English. The bilingual classroom may be the best way to achieve the dual goals of bilingual education and integration, especially if it is two-way, in schools with a sufficient number of Hispanic students. There need not be a bilingual classroom at every grade level; multi-age/grade groups may be developed. If the program is one-way, it may be possible to have two bilingual classrooms taught by one teacher instructing one group of children in the morning and one group in the afternoon, with mainstreaming for the other portion of the day.

Bilingual magnet programs have been included in several desegregation plans across the country, including Boston, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Houston, and Minneapolis. Bilingual magnets may be full magnets, a total school program, by definition a two-way, full day program, or they may take the form of magnet strands, an alternative program imbedded within a school. Strands should be located in predominantly white schools in order to achieve integration (Carter, 1979), and may be one-way (partial day) or two-way (full day).

The characteristics of bilingual magnets are identical to those of bilingual classrooms. The difference is in the magnitude of the programs. Bilingual magnets are most useful when the district has a relatively large proportion of Hispanic students. Magnet schools are the most popular organizational model in meeting the dual goals of bilingual education and integration.

When Carter (1979) reviewed bilingual programs in California and Arizona, he found that every school district studied had a bilingual magnet. Bilingual magnets differ from the traditional use of magnets in desegregation plans. Traditional magnets are designed to meet student interests, such as arts, science and math, or academic enrichment. Bilingual magnets must have the goal of meeting student needs but simultaneously must be designed to meet student interests if they are to draw sufficient white and black enrollment (Carter, 1979). Though bilingual magnets are very popular, Carter (1979) noted that "the majority of bilingual magnets or magnet strands are failing to reach ethnic balance or even end in ethnic isolation" (p. 97). Those magnets which have been successful at drawing non-Hispanic participation are characterized by (1) high quality staff, program, and facilities, (2) the nature and enthusiasm of the staff, (3) good social climate in the school, and (4) a history of academic success and a strong achievement record.

"The most integrated bilingual program in a desegregated school is a program which involves everyone within the school to some extent" (Fernandez & Guskin, 1981). In a total district organization the entire district is a fully implemented, organized, sequential bilingual education program. This organizational model would be limited to implementation in communities which (1) have a substantial Hispanic population and (2) recognize the educational, economical, and political advantages of bilingualism for all citizens. Carter (1979) notes that, at the present, there are no total district bilingual programs.

Summary. The key to successful simultaneous implementation of bilingual education and integration appears to be the organizational structure of the program rather than the model of bilingual education endorsed. Each model and each organizational structure has advantages and disadvantages; a choice must

be made as to the best fit with the needs of the bilingual students and the integration needs of the school community. A school district need not choose one organization over the other, but may use several structures within the district. With creativity and commitment, a school district with a substantial Hispanic population could design a continuum of models, even with different goals--transition or maintenance, one-way and two-way programs, with several different organizational structures. Such a broad continuum would allow Hispanic students and parents alternatives, yet accomplish the total district goals of integration.

Alternatives in the Instructional and Organizational Practices Within the Regular Education Program

If alternatives in the organization of categorical programs are implemented, the diversity of students in the regular education program is increased. Schools have traditionally responded to diversity in the regular education program by creating homogeneous instructional groups. Given the evidence presented in Chapter 2 on the racial and ethnic segregation in tracked and ability-grouped classrooms, the implications of flexible and heterogeneous grouping for avoiding resegregation are clear. A variety of instructional practices have been developed for use in classrooms that encompass a wide range of individual differences in ability and achievement. These alternatives differ in their approach to heterogeneity. Some emphasize individualized instruction, while others use small groups. Classroom and staff organization may also increase flexibility and thus enhance capacity for handling student diversity. This review of instructional and organizational alternatives examines available evidence of their effects on both interracial contact and educational attainment.

Individualized Instruction

Numerous approaches to and definitions of individualized instruction have

been developed over the past two decades, as well as a professional consensus regarding its importance. The common elements of individualization usually include: (1) clearly written and/or stated academic objectives, (2) attention to individual needs, including individual diagnoses and prescription, and (3) structured sequential instruction (Archambault & St. Pierre, 1978, p. 16). These characteristics have been emphasized in compensatory education and in special education (in the IEP requirements in P.L. 94-142, for example) as well as in individualized instruction techniques intended for general use.

Some educators have cautioned that individualized education programs may lead, ironically, to homogeneous grouping practices (Bailey, forthcoming). Students who are working at similar levels may be grouped together, and because of the self-paced nature of classroom work, interaction among students may be limited. Thus well-intentioned efforts to deal with individual differences may collide with the goals of integrated education if they contribute to the racial and social stratification of students. Perhaps as a result of these concerns, proponents of various individualization techniques specify ways that they can be used in combination with flexible grouping practices (Bailey, forthcoming; Wang, 1979a). Two examples are described briefly below.

Phasing describes a set of characteristics usually found in non-graded individualized programs, including the following: (1) instructional groups are temporary and student mobility among them is high, (2) groups are separate for each subject area, (3) group assignment standards and instructional objectives are clearly specified, and (4) evaluation is based on individual progress. Bailey (forthcoming) describes a high school science course based on the phasing model in which students are randomly assigned to sections of a large class with a team of several teachers. Within this format students attend voluntarily selected lecture-discussions differentiated by level of cognitive difficulty,

laboratory sessions based on sequential mastery of specific skills, heterogeneous discussion groups and field trips, and independent study and/or tutorial sessions. Thus students receive instruction in a variety of group settings. The organization of this course is presented schematically in Figure 3.1.

An individualized instruction program implemented in non-graded multi-age classrooms also incorporates a combination of instructional groupings. One such program in a Washington, D.C. elementary school is based on the concept of "learning stations." A classroom of first, second, and third graders is divided into heterogeneous groups who follow a color-coded "road map" schedule from one learning station to another. Each station represents a core subject or student choice activity; students use individualized lessons for review and work on previously taught skills. Students record their own progress at each station but are free to consult with each other and engage in peer tutoring. While the heterogeneous groups are using the learning stations, the teacher selects students with similar skill needs for small group instruction. These groups are based on specific skill mastery in an academic area. After each group receives a lesson, those students return to their learning station activities and a new group is called by the teacher. An evaluation of this project reported achievement gains above the national norms, with an average gain of two years in reading and 1.5 years in arithmetic in one school year (District of Columbia Public Schools, 1980).

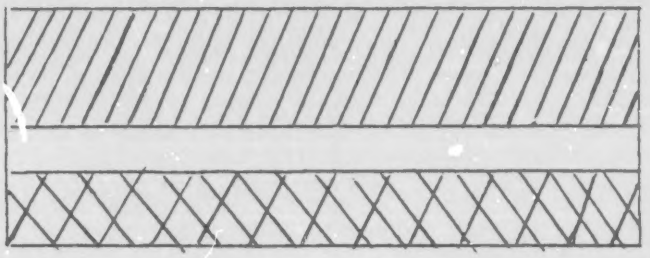
Self-scheduling is designed to increase students' sense of responsibility for their own learning and use of time and to achieve a better "fit" between students' rate of learning and available learning time. The self-schedule system developed by Wang (1979a, 1979b) differs from other individualized instruction systems in that students work on assignments in the order they

FIGURE 3.1

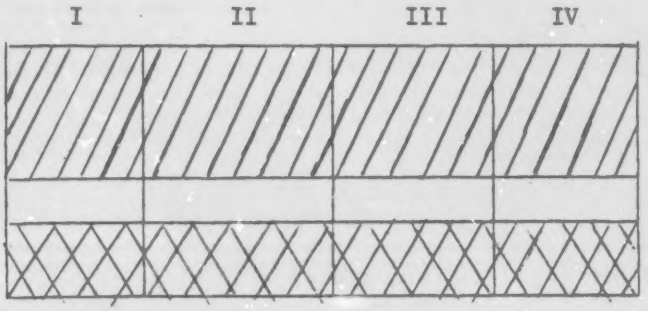
Basic Course Organization for Phasing System

Biological Science Elective

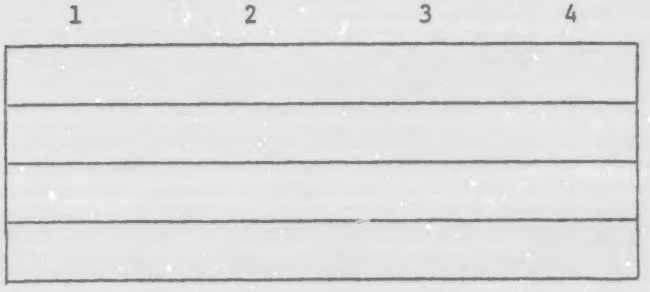
400 students



Divide Bio Sci Group into 4 classes



4 teachers assigned to 4 classes



one class weekly schedule

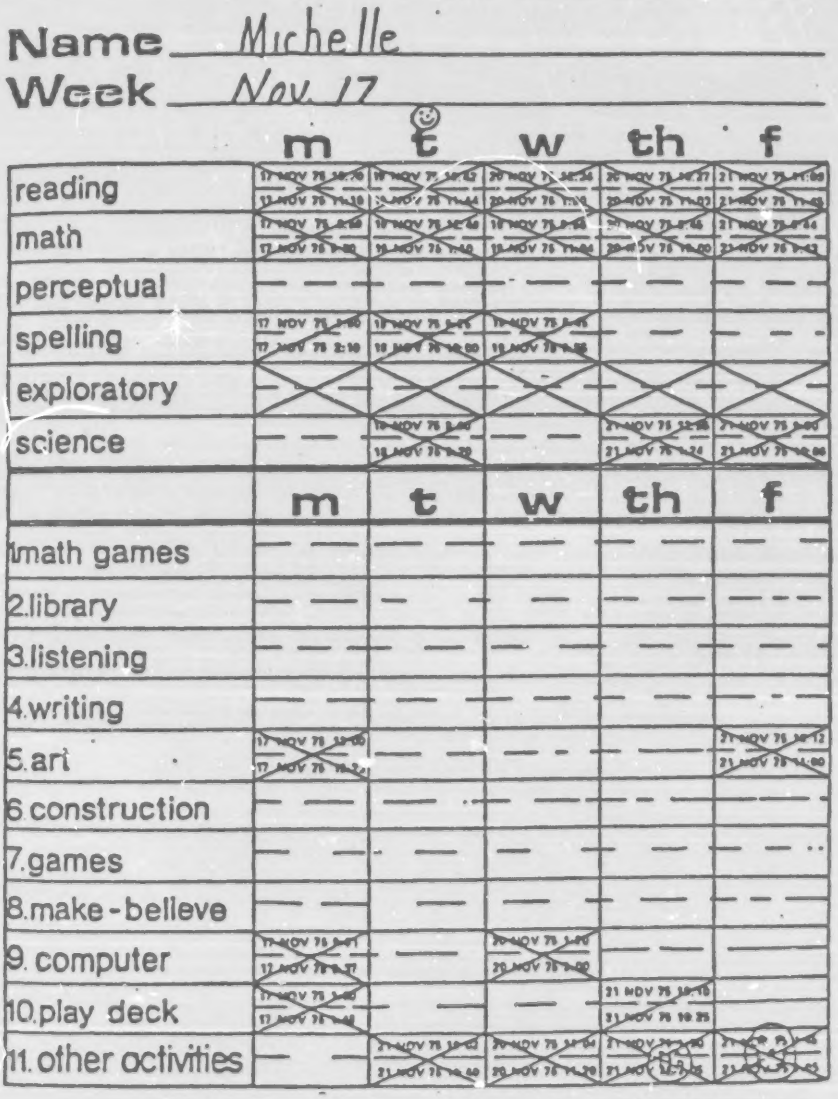
M	T	W	R	F
Skills Development (Lab)	Knowledge Acquisition (Lecture-Discussion)	Attitude Building (Discussion Groups, field trips)	Peer Groups (Small group Study)	Independent Study (or tutoring)

Source: Bailey, W. Collision: Court ordered desegregation and individualized instructional programs. Journal of Educational Equity and Leadership, (forthcoming).

choose for the amount of time they need and record their own scheduling. A concomitant effect of self-scheduling is to increase the instructional time available to the teacher, both by reducing classroom management activities and by insuring that fewer students will need attention at the same time. Figure 3.2 provides an example of a student's schedule sheet in a self-scheduled classroom.

FIGURE 3.2

Sample Student Schedule--Self-scheduled Classroom



Source: Wang, M. C. Maximizing the effective use of school time by teachers and students. Contemporary Educational Psychology, 1979, 4, 187-201. (b)

The Schedule Sheet is used to help the student plan and keep track of the learning tasks he or she is to complete. The sheet includes all activity areas set up in the classroom. It is divided into two parts, the prescriptive and the exploratory sections.

The prescriptive section is indicated on the top part of the sheet. The teacher makes an entry of a half slash [/] to inform the student of the prescriptive areas in which he or she has prescribed tasks for the student. The attached schedule sheet shows that on Monday, November 17, Michelle's prescriptive assignments were in math, reading, and spelling.

The exploratory section is indicated on the bottom half of the sheet. The student may choose any of the 11 areas he or she would like to work in for the day. Michelle chose the computer and the play deck as her exploratory activities.

When the student is ready to work in a particular area, he or she punches the sheet with the time clock in the appropriate space. After the tasks have been completed and checked by the teacher, he or she completes the slash forming a [X] to indicate that the student has correctly completed a task in that area. The student punches the clock again in the same place on the sheet, indicating to the teacher how much time was used to perform the tasks. The students may choose whatever order they would like to do their work. For example, on Wednesday Michelle chose to do her spelling first. She worked from 8:45 to 9:55 AM. Her second choice was math, and she worked from 9:56 to 11:04 AM. This timing procedure is followed for each of the tasks performed (Wang, 1979b).

Students using self-scheduling have been found to complete more tasks in less time than students using the same individualized program but with block scheduling (Wang, 1979b). The study was conducted in an inner-city elementary

school composed largely of poor and black children. Wang (1979a) suggests that the self-schedule system is optimally used with other classroom practices such as multi-age grouping and team teaching in order to increase flexibility and opportunities for peer interaction in small groups.

Cooperative Learning Techniques

These techniques usually involve the creation of teams of students. Each team of roughly four to six students represents the full range of ethnic groups, ability, and gender in the classroom. Academic work is structured so that the children on each team are dependent on each other but also so that disparity in achievement levels does not lead automatically to disparity in contributions to group goal attainment. For example, one team learning technique (Jigsaw) is structured so that each child is given information which all group members need to complete their work. Another technique, Student Teams-Achievement Division (STAD) gives rewards for improvement in academic performance, so that students with weak academic backgrounds have the potential to contribute as much to the success of the team as do the best students.

Descriptions of three of the most well-known cooperative learning techniques are discussed below (see Hawley, et al., 1981).

Teams-Games-Tournament. Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT) is built around two major components: 4-5 member student teams, and instructional tournaments. The teams are the cooperative element of TGT. Students are assigned to teams according to a procedure that maximizes heterogeneity of ability levels, sex, and race. The primary function of the team is to prepare its members to do well in the tournament. Following an initial class presentation by the teachers, the teams are given worksheets covering academic material similar to that to be included in the tournament. Teammates study together and quiz each other to be sure that all team members are prepared.

After the team practice session, team members must demonstrate their learning in the tournament, which is usually held once a week. For the tournament, students are assigned to three person "tournament tables." The assignment is done so that competition at each table will be fair--the highest three students in past performances are assigned to Table 1, the next three to Table 2, and so on. At the tables, the students compete on simple academic games covering content that has been presented in class by the teacher and on the

worksheets. Students at the tournament tables are competing as representatives of their teams, and the score each student earns at his or her tournament table is added into an overall team score. Because students are assigned to ability--homogeneous tournament tables, each student has an equal chance of contributing a maximum score to his or her team, as the first place scorer at every table brings the same number of points to his or her team. Following the tournament, the teacher prepares a newsletter which recognizes successful teams and first place scorers. While team assignments always remain the same, tournament table assignments are changed for every tournament according to a system that maintains equality of past performance at each table. For a complete description of Teams-Games-Tournament, see Slavin (1980).

Student Teams-Achievement Divisions. Student Teams-Achievement Divisions (STAD) uses the same 4-5 member heterogeneous teams used in TGT, but replaces the games and tournaments with simple, 15-minute quizzes, which students take after studying in their teams. The quiz scores are translated into team scores using a system called "achievement divisions." The quiz scores of the highest six students in past performance are compared, and the top scorer in this group (the achievement division) earns eight points for his or her team, the second scorer earns six points, etc. Then the quiz scores of the next highest six students in past performance are compared, and so on. In this way, student scores are compared only with those of an ability-homogeneous reference group instead of the entire class. A "bumping" procedure changes division assignments from week to week to maintain equality. Students know only their own division assignments; they do not interact in any way with the other members of their division. The achievement division feature maintains the equality of opportunity for contributions to the team score as in TGT. A complete description of STAD appears in Slavin (1978).

Jigsaw. In Jigsaw, students are assigned to small heterogeneous teams, as in TGT and STAD. Academic material is broken into as many sections as there are team members. For example, a biography might be broken into "early years," "schooling," "first accomplishments," etc. The students study their sections with members of other teams who have the same sections. Then they return to their teams and teach their sections to the other team members. Finally, all team members are quizzed on the entire unit. The quiz scores contribute to individual grades, not to a team score as in TGT and STAD. In this sense, the Jigsaw technique may be seen as high in task interdependence but low in reward interdependence, as individual performances do not contribute directly to a group goal. In the Jigsaw technique, individual performances contribute to others' individual goals only; since the group is not rewarded as a group, there is no formal group goal. However, because the positive behavior of each team member (learning the sections) helps the other group members to be rewarded (because they need each others' information), the essential dynamics of the cooperative reward structure are present.

> Slavin (1978) constructed a modification of Jigsaw called Jigsaw II. In Jigsaw II, students all read the same material but focus on separate topics. The students from different teams who have the same topics meet to discuss their topics, and then return to teach them to their teammates. The team members then take a quiz, and the quiz scores are used to form team scores as in STAD. Thus, Jigsaw II involves less task interdependence and more reward interdependence than Jigsaw.

The research evidence showing positive effects of various structured cooperative learning team strategies is strong, although the impact of a few techniques, such as STAD and Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT), has been more frequently studied than that of others. There is a considerable body of evidence which suggests that these approaches lead to higher than usual academic achievement gains for low-achieving students and almost always improve relations between majority and minority group children (Slavin, 1980; Sharan, 1980). An experimental study comparing the use of TGT with an individualized instruction program found that the cooperative learning method produced higher achievement on a test of the materials studied and slightly more positive effect on students' self-concept, especially regarding peer relationships (DeVries, Lucasse & Shackman, 1979). In a study of racial attitudes and behavior in desegregated high schools, Genova and Walberg (1979) found that fostering "racial mixing" was the most important factor contributing to successful school integration. They recommended interracial learning teams as the most effective racial mixing strategy within classrooms.

The work of Elizabeth Cohen and others on the Multi-Ability Classroom (MAC) has also shown promising results in fostering equal participation and influence in cooperative learning groups. This approach is based on the premise that students need special preparation for participation in cooperative mixed-ability groups in order to counter the effects of status generalization often found in heterogeneous and racially integrated classrooms. Rosenholtz

(1977), for example, found that children seen as high in reading ability and high in status in group reading tasks also have high status in task groups that do not require reading.

Mixed-ability groups are assigned cooperative learning tasks which require a number of abilities and do not exclusively rely on reading, writing, and computation skills. In addition, students are prepared for the task by discussing the range of abilities it requires and are instructed that while no group member will possess all of the necessary skills, every member will be able to contribute at least one. The multiple ability assignments may be preceded by Expectation Training in which low-status students are prepared for special tasks which they then teach to other students (Cohen, 1980).

Several studies provide evidence that the multiple ability intervention helps to equalize status and participation in cooperative learning groups of both single-race and multiracial composition (Stulac, 1975; Cohen, 1979; Rosenholtz, 1980). In addition, low-achieving minority students have been found to exhibit more active learning behavior in classrooms that approximate the MAC model (Cohen, 1980; Ahmadjian-Baer, 1981).

Evidence concerning the impact of interracial academic cooperation without employing a specific team technique is less clear but suggestive of a positive impact. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1976) found support for this strategy as a means of reducing resegregation. Slavin and Madden (1979) found that assigning black and white students to work together on academic tasks was consistently related to positive outcomes on six different indicators of students' interracial attitudes and behavior.

Other researchers suggest that several factors may influence the effectiveness of cooperative learning in improving race relations. Blanchard and his colleagues (1975) demonstrated that the positive impact of cooperation is

greatest when the group succeeds. The research of Cohen and her associates on status generalization is especially indicative that careful attention should be paid to structuring cooperative learning so that the participation and status of different group members is relatively equal.

Peer Tutoring

Cross-age tutoring, in which older low-achieving children teach younger low-achieving children, is based on the rationale that the tutee will benefit from additional individual help while the tutor will also learn through teaching and preparing to teach. Numerous peer tutoring programs were developed in the 1960's in inner-city schools with large black and Hispanic populations and were seen as a way to capitalize on classroom heterogeneity and to improve race relations (Gartner, Kohler, & Riessman, 1971). English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students, for example, can tutor each other in language skills and also gain cultural exposure and understanding.

Considerable evidence exists of cognitive and affective gains for older, low-achieving tutors. Evidence of comparable effects for tutees is less consistent. Some studies show positive academic and attitudinal changes for both tutor and tutee, while others have found that the benefits for the former do not also accrue to the latter (Devin-Sheehan, Feldman, & Allen, 1976).

While positive results have been found for both black and white same-race tutoring pairs, very few studies have examined mixed-race pairs. One study that did so found that cross-race tutoring produced greater interracial interaction and acceptance for both tutor and tutee, although there were no significant gains in achievement (Devin-Sheehan et al., 1976).

Team Organization

Team-organized schools group students in teams or mini-schools with an interdisciplinary group of teachers. Students are randomly assigned to teams

and typically stay in the same unit through several grade levels. The team organization is especially advocated for middle schools and is designed to increase classroom heterogeneity, reduce the focus on grade-level expectations, and increase student-teacher interaction (Damico, Green, & Bell-Nathaniel, 1981). In a study comparing such schools with more traditionally organized ones, Damico and his colleagues found that students in the team-organized schools had significantly more other-race friends and perceived their school's interracial climate more favorably.

In summary, several alternatives to homogeneous instruction are available and have been implemented. Cooperative learning techniques are presently the most well-researched of these; they represent the most direct attempt to establish interracial contact within the heterogeneous classroom while at the same time providing effective instruction.

Alternatives To Suspension

Alternatives to out-of-school suspension encompass both specific programs designed to reduce suspension and behavior problems, and school characteristics and practices that have been associated with low suspension rates. In this section, examples of the range of in-school-suspension (ISS) and related programs will be described, and available evidence on their effectiveness in reducing overall suspension rates and minority suspension rates will be summarized. Empirical research on differences in suspension among schools will be surveyed in order to identify common characteristics of low-suspension schools.

In-School-Suspension Programs

Garibaldi (1979) identifies three common models of in-school alternatives to suspension: guidance and counseling programs, time-out rooms, and in-school suspension centers. The latter category is a broad one in which the length of time, degree of isolations, and comprehensiveness of services varies a great

deal. In fact, many programs are hybrids that include elements of all three types. In addition, there are alternative schools for students with severe behavior problems and those who have already dropped out or been expelled from regular schools.

Counseling programs. These programs provide individual, peer, or group counseling sessions for students, usually on a referral basis. Typically the objectives emphasize the improvement of self-concept, motivation, and attitude toward school. A variety of techniques such as Glasser's reality therapy, values clarification, conflict resolution, and decision making skills are employed (Bader, 1978; NIE, 1979). Macnab (1978) described a program in which daily behavioral and academic objectives are set by the student and counselor, with part-time employment in the community offered as an incentive. In some cases, services are provided on a schoolwide basis as a prevention effort. School districts have payed "desegregation aides" who conduct discussion sessions and conflict resolution activities (Higgins, 1974). A more comprehensive counseling program is Positive Alternatives to Suspension (PASS) in Pinellas County, Florida. That program includes regular classroom instruction in human relations, basic encounter groups for students and staff, parent training, and school and home "survival courses" for students with behavior problems (Bailey, 1978).

Time-out rooms. Students are simply sent to a vacant room to "cool off" after a classroom disruption or conflict with a teacher. No examples were found of school programs that rely exclusively on this device. Frequently it is one of a range of interventions or a first step that is followed by counseling or in-school suspension (NIE, 1979; Bailey, 1978).

In-school suspension centers. ISS centers are special classrooms where students are sent in lieu of out-of-school suspension. Students usually work

on regular classroom assignments under the guidance of a supervising teacher; frequently additional academic services are also provided (e.g., tutoring, study skills instruction)(NIE, 1979). Counseling sessions and parent conferences are usually a part of the ISS program (NIE, 1979; Cotton, 1978). Students spend an average of three days in ISS (Garibaldi, 1979) on referral of teachers and/or administrators. Students in ISS may be largely isolated from the rest of the school, eating lunch at separate times and remaining in one classroom all day. Some schools provide a continuum of ISS-type alternatives, ranging from only part-day and very short-term to totally self-contained centers (e.g., school within a school) with separate instructional programs (NIE, 1979; Cotton, 1978).

Effectiveness of programs. Published evaluation data on suspension alternatives tend not to be very specific or complete. Most program descriptions cite a few illustrative (and positive) figures. In addition to qualitative assessments of program content and processes, the primary numerical indicators of program success include changes in overall suspension rate, changes in minority disproportion in suspension, and recidivism in the ISS program itself. Many programs point to reduced use of out-of-school suspension as a result of implementing an alternative (NIE, 1979; Bader, 1978). There is also evidence of low recidivism in some programs; NIE (1979) describes a counseling program in which fewer than 12% of participants have been subsequently suspended, and an ISS center in which 93% had neither been suspended nor returned to ISS.

Indications of reduced minority disproportion in suspension rates are few, even though this issue has been a major factor in recognition of "the suspension problem" that led to the establishment of many alternative programs (Garibaldi, 1979). The Dallas school district reports a black suspension rate of close to

40%, the proportion of black enrollment, after the institution of ISS programs under a court order in Hawkins v. Coleman (Cotton, 1978). In Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, four of five middle schools in which an "intervention room" was established reduced their minority suspensions by 28% while in the unserved schools, minority suspensions increased by 29% (NIE, 1979). The PASS program reduced suspensions or held them constant while an increase was observed in control group schools; after the program was introduced in all Pinellas County high schools, the number of suspensions was cut by more than half. However, the 1978 OCR survey indicated that the school district still ranked high in "excess minority suspensions" (Killalea Associates, 1978).

ISS program administrators and observers continue to express concern about the degree of racial isolation and disproportion in the alternative programs themselves. Arnez (1978) cites the Louisville system as an example, in which referrals to a separate school program were overwhelmingly black while those to an in-school program were mostly white. Arnove and Strout (1980) observed similar situations in other large cities. Participants in the NIE conference (1979) observed that ISS centers could become just as disproportionately minority in composition as was out-of-school suspension. These programs can become identified as "minority programs" especially when they involve a voluntary transfer to an alternative school (Williams, in NIE, 1979, p. 18). Particular attention to this issue, including careful data collection on racial composition of the programs and teacher/principal referrals of minority students, has been recommended (Mizell, in NIE, 1979).

School Differences in Suspension

Studies of schools with low incidences of discipline problems and use of suspension have identified features of organization and school climate that

appear to be related to the school's orderliness.

Leadership and administration. Most authors agree that the leadership of the school principal is an important element in dealing with student behavior. They differ, however, in the specific elements of leadership they consider important. Brodbelt (1980), after examining a large number of studies, concludes that the best principals are those who have administrative skills (ability to plan, initiate, and mobilize resources and support) and who support teachers (leave them free to teach). Brodbelt found these characteristics in successful schools regardless of racial or socioeconomic composition. Kaeser (1979a), in a study of successful schools in Ohio, observes that generally "strong" building leadership that "sets the tone" for the school is an important factor. More specifically, these principals do a number of things to foster superior teacher performance: set an example of and reward quality, create mechanisms that break isolation in both teaching and planning and in turn increase teachers' sense of responsibility and professionalism, and encourage informal activities to boost staff morale.

Duke and Meckel (1980) examined the efforts of two junior high schools to deal with attendance problems, their most prevalent discipline problem. Using a theoretical framework borrowed from J. R. Galbraith, they looked at five organizational variables, two of which include elements of leadership and administrative behavior. The first of these, "macro-level decision-making," refers to the ways in which disciplinary policy at the school level is made. The authors concluded that the schools they studied failed to increase daily attendance and reduce class cutting in part because school administrators initiated policy changes arbitrarily and unilaterally--they did not examine options in view of any clearly understood objectives of attendance policy, and they did not solicit teacher or student participation. The second factor

is personnel background and training. Duke and Meckel argue that these school officials lacked training in analytic and decision-making skills, had little experience with collaborative decision-making, and lacked substantive expertise in issues related to poor school attendance and possible remedies. While this study does not contain a positive example, by implication it would be a principal who seeks participation in decisions but manages it so that options are considered systematically and exerts influence over the choices made.

Bickel and Qualls (1979) examined school climate differences between samples of Louisville high schools with relatively high and low suspension rates. Several differences between the principals in the two groups of schools were reported. According to both teachers' perceptions and principals' self-reports, principals in high-suspension schools placed primary emphasis on capable performance of their administrative functions and saw the principal as the central figure in the school. Principals in low-suspension schools gave higher priority to fostering mutual respect between students and staff. Principals in the low-suspension schools were reported to be more visible around the school, while those in the high-suspension schools spent more time in their offices. The authors note that the literature supports the inference that principals' visibility in the school positively affects student morale and behavior. Low-suspension principals felt they had more discretion in making discipline decisions than did high-suspension principals. There was no difference between the two groups of schools in student perceptions of the administration of discipline policy; student ratings of the consistency and fairness of enforcement were similar in high- and low-suspension schools.

Teacher characteristics. The effectiveness of teachers in successful schools is attributed to a number of personal qualities and attitudes. Brodbelt (1980) characterizes "strong teachers" as those who establish and

enforce a clear set of classroom rules; they respond quickly to misbehavior but with a variety of techniques; they spend more time on teaching, less on discipline, regardless of the racial and socioeconomic composition of the school. Kaeser (1979a) describes all of the successful schools she studied as "child-centered" rather than "subject-centered," as reflected in the attitudes of staff and administrators: a commitment to serving all children, high expectations of teachers and of students, a "consistent and constructive" approach to student behavior using a wide range of discipline efforts but all with an emphasis on self-discipline and problem-solving rather than punishment. Bickel and Qualls (1979) found that teachers in low-suspension schools rated their school more positively on all items related to school climate than did teachers in high-suspension schools. These items included assessment of students' respect for teachers, honesty and sincerity of people in the school, students' enjoyment of school, students' feeling of acceptance in school, and the school's learning environment. Teachers' respect for students is greater in the low-suspension schools, according to principals' reports. Classroom observers found no differences between the two groups of schools in the relationship of teacher-student interactions to students' race or sex. However, students in low-suspension schools rated teachers' nonverbal communication more positively than did students in high-suspension schools.

Curriculum and instruction. Brodbelt (1980) noted that in studies of successful schools, the curriculum is characterized by structure and "firm management," continuous evaluation, remediation, and individualized instruction.

Kaeser (1979a) described the "child-centered" schools in her study as those which paid attention to individual needs. Organizationally, most of these schools made use of team teaching, flexible scheduling and grouping (e.g. multi-age grouping), and individualized instruction (e.g., Individually

Guided Education-IGE). Another aspect of these schools was that they were structured to facilitate exposure and contact between students and faculty. In the larger schools, this usually meant subdivisions into "houses" or mini-schools, in order to reduce the anonymity and personal distance in the larger setting. In addition, the house system is thought to foster teachers' sense of professionalism, since it requires professional cooperation among teachers and responsibility for a common group of students (Walline, 1976).

Solomon and Kendall (1975) found that teachers engage in more critical and disciplinary behavior in traditional classrooms than in open ones, while students' actual misbehavior is not significantly different. While the authors acknowledge that there is no control for teacher personality or interaction between personality and type of classroom, they suggest that the setting itself helps to set norms for behavior.

Descriptions of curricular and instructional features of alternative schools emphasize individualization, but there is considerable variety among specific programs. In a survey of 18 voluntary alternative schools in California, Duke and Perry (1978) identified the following practices (number in parentheses indicates number of schools characterized by each practice):

1. provisions for independent study (15)
2. off-campus learning opportunities (14)
3. flexible scheduling (14)
4. emphasis on curriculum relevance (14)
5. reduced class sizes (12)
6. tutorials (9)
7. mini-courses (8)
8. shortened school day (8)
9. outside resource people used in instruction (7). (p. 381)

Arnove and Strout (1980) found individualized instruction implemented in several ways, including contracts, point systems, and programmed instruction. In addition, the alternative schools they studied offered many support services,

since many of their students had undiagnosed learning disabilities and related medical problems.

Size has also been associated with low discipline problems and suspensions. Arnove and Strout (1980) reported that the median student enrollment of U.S. alternative schools is 200, with many having fewer than 100 students. The typical student staff ratio is 15:1. (About one-third of all alternative schools are special programs for disruptive students--chronic truants, suspended, expelled, dropouts, or in juvenile court.) The average enrollment of the schools in Duke and Perry's (1978) study was 111. Several positive consequences are attributed to the small size of alternative schools: (1) flexibility in scheduling and instruction (Carlson, 1976; Duke & Perry, 1978), (2) access and informality in student-teacher relationships (Kaeser, 1979a; Duke & Perry, 1978), (3) consistency among faculty, due to their smaller number (Duke & Perry, 1978), and (4) homogeneity of students (Duke & Perry, 1978). (Students in the schools in Duke and Perry's study were self-selected.)

Student perceptions of climate. Bickel and Qualls (1979) used school climate items for students that were similar to the ones they used with teachers. They found some differences between low- and high-suspension schools, but school differences interacted with race and sex differences. White students in low-suspension schools rated their school climate more positively than did black students in both groups of schools and white students in high-suspension schools.

Interracial climate. While the Louisville study identified climate and leadership differences in schools with low overall suspension rates, the disproportionate suspension of black students was not related to these characteristics (Bickel & Qualls, 1979). However, a case study of two school districts that examined schools with low minority disproportion in suspension found that

perceptions of a favorable interracial climate and staff support for integration separated these schools from those with greater racial disparity (Bennett & Harris, 1981).

These studies suggest that alternative programs alone are probably not sufficient to correct racial disparity in enforcement of school discipline. Rather, the climate of the school must reflect an explicit concern with race relations in general and with interracial fairness in administering discipline. School administrators can manifest this concern in at least two ways. First, rules governing behavior and establishing disciplinary offenses should be developed with broad participation, including staff, students and parents. The common expectations for behavior in school that result from this process should be widely communicated throughout the school. In addition, tardiness and other attendance-related offenses probably should not be punishable by suspension, and vague prohibitions that allow a great deal of discretion in enforcement, such as "insubordination," should probably be eliminated altogether. The second action that administrators can take is to analyze carefully the reasons for minority suspensions and other disciplinary actions.

Schools should keep records on suspension including the reason for the suspension, the teacher or staff person involved, and the race and sex of the student involved. This allows the school principal, parents and others to analyze the reasons for suspension by race and sex, and to determine if particular teachers or staff members have problems needing attention. Until the leadership in a school understands the causes of disproportionate minority suspension in that school at that time, solutions are impossible.

In-service training for teachers and administrators can facilitate the implementation of these practices. Teachers frequently request in-service training in classroom management immediately after desegregation begins and such programs have been found to reduce discipline problems in recently desegregated schools.

Administrators can also benefit from in-service training in developing and administering rules of conduct and in establishing a positive interracial climate (Smylie & Hawley, 1981).

Chapter Summary

Alternative practices have been examined in the areas of student assignment to academic programs, organization of academic programs, and student discipline.

Student assignment relies heavily on the use of standardized testing. Since mean performance differences among racial and ethnic groups are presently well-established, resegregation is a frequent result of the use of tests. The procedures of test development, however, could be altered to include more minority group data in the development of items, norming procedures, and the establishment of reliability and validity. In addition to these changes in the psychometric bases of tests, test users need to be well-versed in the psychometric properties and interpretation of tests, as well as in behavioral science literature about test use with minority group children.

In addition to testing itself, the assessment process includes the referral of children for testing and the broad range of interactions between the child and the school psychologist and other school personnel. Several alternatives were identified that are aimed at changing the use of the referral by both teachers and psychologists, including an increased emphasis on consultation and help in the regular classroom rather than on automatic testing. Five conceptual models of nondiscriminatory assessment were introduced and evaluated: psychometric, alternative, transactional, ecological, and interdisciplinary. It was concluded that none of these models can stand alone. Rather, elements of all of them should be included in an integrated model. The SOMPA is one approach to an integrated model of non-discriminatory assessment, but not necessarily the definitive one.

Alternative organizational practices for categorical programs have the

common feature of attempting to provide greater integration of categorical services into the regular school program. In compensatory education, alternate ways of allocating funds and regulating their use have resulted in reduced use of pull-out in schools with large numbers of eligible students. In addition, the use of consultant teachers should facilitate the provision of compensatory services in the regular classroom.

In special education, recent emphasis has been on the placement of handicapped children the "least restrictive environment" that is appropriate, or "mainstreaming," defined here as at least part-time placement in a regular classroom. Very few significant differences in academic performance have been found between mainstreamed EMR children and those in special classes. In some cases, EMR children have been mainstreamed into low-track classes and racially or ethnically segregated classes. The potential for reducing resegregation through mainstreaming, then, depends on the extent to which regular classes are integrated and organized heterogeneously.

In bilingual education, a continuum of organizational strategies was proposed, ranging from an individual learning plan to a total school district organization. If programs are one-way, some segregation is probably inevitable especially if small numbers of LEP students are involved. Emphasis should be placed on part-time integration. With larger numbers of LEP students, two-way bilingual magnet programs are more feasible and more integrative, if sufficient numbers of non-LEP students participate.

The effectiveness of changes in student assignment practices and in the organization of categorical programs is contingent upon the organization of regular classroom instruction for diverse groups of students. Several approaches to classroom heterogeneity have been developed. Individualized instruction techniques can be combined with flexible grouping in order to facilitate interracial contact within classrooms. Cooperative learning techniques

make explicit use of small heterogeneous groups and have been found to improve both minority student achievement and race relations. Peer tutoring programs have been shown to be especially beneficial for low-achieving student tutors, but there is very little evidence on mixed-race tutoring pairs. Team-organized schools, in which heterogeneous groups of students are divided into "houses" or mini-schools with a common group of teachers, have enhanced the development of interracial friendships and positive interracial climate.

Alternative student discipline practices are aimed at reducing out-of-school suspension through the use of in-school suspension programs that include a variety of counseling and other intervention techniques, "time-out" or "cooling-off" rooms, and in-school suspension centers where students continue their academic work or receive special instruction. Reports on many of these programs have indicated decreased out-of-school suspensions and low recidivism. There is also evidence, however, that some alternative programs are just as racially imbalanced as out-of-school suspension has been. Experts therefore recommend careful attention to this issue and thorough analysis of the reasons for excess minority group disciplinary actions. Schools that have low suspension rates, but not necessarily comparable minority and majority group rates, are rated more positively on school climate then those with higher suspension rates. Schools with little or no disparity in minority group suspension rates are characterized by positive interracial climate and staff support for integration.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEDERAL POLICY: ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The evidence presented in this report supports the conclusion that resegregation within desegregated public schools is extensive. We have found evidence of substantial resegregation in academic programs--ability grouping, tracking, compensatory education, special education, and bilingual education--due to methods of student assignment and program organization. We have also found that school disciplinary practices, most notably suspension, contribute to resegregation due to the ways in which school rules are made and applied.

School desegregation is a mechanism for educational change as well as a way of achieving larger social goals. As an externally imposed change, however, desegregation cannot fulfill its intent if it is incompatible with school culture and organization. Resegregation is a manifestation of such incompatibility. Its occurrence undermines the achievement of the educational and social goals of school desegregation by reducing opportunities for equal education of minority students and for positive interracial contacts among all students.

While racial and ethnic bias of school personnel cannot be discounted as a factor, a more compelling reason for resegregation is that the sources of this phenomenon are found in the organizational routines of most schools. Alternative methods of student assessment, instructional organization, and school discipline that recognize student diversity and facilitate interracial contact are available. These alternatives, however, require organizational change in most schools for their implementation.

In order for schools to reduce or eliminate within-school resegregation, they must adopt new ways of assessing student performance, organizing instruction, and dealing with student behavior. Student assessment should incorporate

a wide range of information from a variety of sources and should be interpreted by well-informed "consumers" of testing information. Instruction should be organized so that students have opportunities for educational interaction with diverse groups of students. Special support services should be provided with as much integration into the regular curriculum as possible. Student discipline should emphasize keeping students in school and dealing with the sources of student behavior problems, including the influence of school climate on behavior and the development and application of equitable school rules.

These practices, of course, require that knowledge of specific techniques be made available to school personnel. Equally important, however, is the development of skills that allow such knowledge to be successfully put to use. Many of the assessment and instructional techniques discussed in this report rely heavily on consultation among professionals with different specializations. Psychologists, special and regular teachers, and other school personnel must establish consultative and collaborative relationships in order to plan and provide programs for diverse groups of students. Professional consultation is an especially important part of the role of specialists who should provide support for regular teachers as well as services for individual students.

Another requirement for implementation of practices to reduce resegregation is an enhanced capacity for planning and management at both the school and classroom levels. Increasing the diversity of students and programs in regular classrooms increases the complexity of instructional planning and coordination for teachers. School administrators need to assure the coordination of special programs with each other and with the regular curriculum. School-wide planning processes for the development of behavior standards and discipline procedures should also be instituted. Planning for desegregation should include consideration of resegregation and ways to avoid it. Because

resegregation has many sources, its elimination requires a comprehensive approach that considers these sources in relationship to each other and to desegregation.

Implications for the Federal Role

The central purpose of this study has been to identify the extent and causes of resegregation and to suggest some school level practices that can reduce the racial isolation of students within schools. This study has not sought to develop detailed federal strategies that follow from our review and analyses of the available evidence. Rather, this report identifies some general directions for federal policy. Further analysis will be necessary to turn the summary prescriptions for federal action into specific programs and modifications of status and regulations. Nonetheless, the step from the general statements below to particular policy proposals is not a long one and the research reviewed above will facilitate further inquiry and action.

The directions for federal policy outlined here assume that the federal government should not dictate specific instructional practices in order to play a role in reducing resegregation. Rather, the federal government can facilitate state and local efforts to do so in several ways. First, categorical programs and regulations that inadvertently contribute to resegregation can be amended. Second, research on existing alternatives and development of additional ones can be stimulated. Third, dissemination of research and technical assistance for implementing specific alternatives and for developing planning and coordination processes can be provided. Fourth, professional development programs that include alternative practices and fostering consultation and planning skills can be supported. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of each of these federal strategies for reducing resegregation.

Categorical Programs

These programs provide funds for special educational services for target groups and inadvertently contribute to resegregation due to a combination of factors. Separate programs for identifiable and often well-organized

constituency groups are politically attractive to legislators. Program regulations encourage the segregation of eligible students for instruction through requirements for separate supplementary services and expenditures. When the eligible populations for categorical programs are disproportionately composed of minority group students, as is the case for compensatory, bilingual, and some special education services, resegregation occurs through pull-out programs and self-contained classes. The resegregative effects of these programs are exacerbated when individual children are eligible for several programs and receive the services of each through multiple pull outs or by being placed in a separate track.

Categorical programs can be re-structured in two ways that could reduce resegregation. First, the regulations of individual programs can be amended. Requirements such as the supplementation provision of Title I should be re-interpreted so that state and local administrators do not understand pull out to be the only way to satisfy it. While pull out has not been mandated, it has been viewed as the only alternative by many school administrators. Alternative ways of assuring fiscal accountability that do not encourage separate services for accounting purposes should be explored. The new amendments to Title I which authorize simplifying record keeping and reporting requirements provide an opportunity to clarify this point.

A second strategy deals with the management of categorical programs and the intergovernmental relations involved. Each program is administered separately at all levels of government; the impact of multiple program operation and overlap among target groups in schools and students does not fall in the domain of any single agency. Schools have little incentive to consolidate services for multiply eligible children or to integrate services into regular instruction when funding applications and reviews of expenditures are disaggregated. Kimbrough and Hill (1981) recommend: "Federal advice and monitoring should be reoriented to encourage program consolidation, rather than

forcing local administrators to deal separately with an autonomous federal bureau for every program."

Application procedures can be altered to stimulate local planning and coordination of categorical services in relation to desegregation and to the total school program. Such changes would probably involve some degree of federal and state administrative reorganization and differential federal administration among states. Goettel (1978) has suggested the development of contractual arrangements in which states and the federal government establish a comprehensive plan including all funding sources. A model for this procedure is the California School Improvement Program, in which school districts submit consolidated applications for all state education funds. Federal officials have been critical of this approach because state and federal funds are combined and administered jointly. Title I and state compensatory education funds, for example, are combined. Several other states have also instituted processes for program and grant coordination, with varying degrees of success. The centrifugal forces that mitigate against such efforts at the national level can be just as strong at the state level (Berke & Demarest, 1978). Where opportunities to do comprehensive planning involving multiple programs have existed, many districts have chosen not to pursue this approach (Rubin & David, 1981). Local management resources may not be adequate for the task. This suggests that legislative consolidation of programs into block grants to the states is probably not a panacea for the problems of categorical grant administration.

As Kimbrough and Hill noted in their conclusion to the Aggregate Effects of Federal Education Programs (1981), while:

> . . . some form of reducing the barriers that separate categorical programs is desirable, [n]ot all forms of consolidation are equally constructive. In the interest of the nation's neediest students and schools, the best form of consolidation would be one that increased local educators' flexibility while continuing to ensure that federal funds both increase and target the resources available for the education of disadvantaged students. (p. 44)

If categorical programs for the disadvantaged are to be placed in block

grants, careful attention should be given to the problem of targeting resources, the need for mechanisms and support for comprehensive planning and coordination, and the need to provide technical assistance to LEAs. A strategy which would allow states to present and implement comprehensive coordination plans for managing multiple programs might generate models that could be incorporated into future regulations or federal officials might devise programming approaches to schools in which many students with special needs are concentrated.

The relationship of service delivery programs to the enforcement of civil rights guarantees is another aspect of program administration that affects resegregation. While the groups protected by civil rights regulations closely parallel the recipient groups of categorical assistance, the two activities are administered separately by the Office of Civil Rights and the program bureaus and offices in the Department of Education, respectively. Only in ESAA has there been a formal linkage requiring that civil rights compliance be established prior to receipt of grant funds and there was no formal linkage with categorical program personnel. Indeed ESAA regulations aimed at avoiding racial isolation were apparently seen by school systems as conflicting with other program regulations which targeted aid to students in racially isolated settings. More recently, a memorandum of understanding was adopted between OCR and the Office of Special Education regarding enforcement of P.L. 94-142, which combines regulatory and service delivery provisions. These instances, however, are exceptions and not the rule.

Closer cooperation between OCR officials and federal program administrators would reduce the likelihood of different arms of the federal government working at cross purposes. For example, the Lau guidelines on bilingual education contain a number of provisions regarding segregation of LEP students, yet ESEA Title VII funds for bilingual education programs were not contingent upon compliance with such safeguards. Clear links between program monitoring and civil rights enforcement at the federal level could foster greater coherence

in state and local policies regarding resegregation issues.

Clearly, resegregation is not the only effect of categorical aid that could be ameliorated by changes in regulations and the organization of these programs. Nor are these changes alone likely to eliminate resegregation. However, to the extent that schools keep children with special needs in separate groups for administrative rather than educational reasons, changes in the regulations concerning implementation could be designed to remove obstacles to local planning and coordination and possibly provide incentives for such efforts.

Research and Development

In the course of gathering and analyzing information for this report, we have become acutely aware of specific research needs in several areas related to resegregation. Almost every topic we investigated is characterized by gaps in data and analysis on sources of the problem, or by a paucity of alternative models to reduce the problem, or both. Frequently, the assertion that resegregation occurs is built on fragmented pieces of collateral evidence, because much of the research on educational practices is not conducted in a desegregated setting or the racial context is not specified.

Research, when it involves the evaluation of specific practices, can seldom be translated directly into new policy or programmatic recommendations with great confidence. Thus, the funding of research based models in local agencies and the assessment of the effectiveness of these models, along with the identification and evaluation of extant programs of presumptive effectiveness is a necessary adjunct of research.

The topics about which it seems research, development, evaluation and dissemination would be most important for making further progress in the reduction of desegregation are:

1. Instructional techniques for teaching heterogeneous groups of students. Only cooperative learning techniques among the flexible and heterogeneous grouping practices are backed by empirical evidence that provides considerable confidence of their effectiveness.

2. Scheduling, grouping and instructional practices to facilitate interaction among heterogeneous high school students. Resegregation is particularly acute in high schools where differentiation of the curriculum is most pronounced; there is almost no information about strategies to mitigate the separation that occurs.
3. Discipline techniques, including alternative forms of in-school suspension, that reduce the disproportionality of suspensions or exclusions of minority group children. The literature is replete with examples of techniques, but there is an absence of comparison among programs that would allow identification of program characteristics that are linked to desirable outcomes in different settings. There is also little evaluation data that assesses impact on disproportionate minority suspensions.
4. Further development and evaluation of psychological assessment techniques for evaluating minority children fairly. There is little evidence to suggest how currently developed experimental techniques affect assessment and placement of minority group children.
5. Development and assessment of alternative approaches to the delivery of categorical services. Little sustained analysis of effects of alternatives to pull out programs has been accomplished.

Meeting these needs in research and development requires an awareness of the relationships between desegregation and school policies and practices that result in resegregation. The establishment of these linkages is difficult because of the disjointed nature of the conduct of education and other social science research and its dissemination. Academic specializations tend to be quite narrow. These are barriers between basic and applied research, even within a single institution, and between research and model or product development. The joining of different topics and types of research with a common focus on resegregation can take place at many levels, from a single institute

or university to the federal government. Such linkage efforts represent the establishment of a "learning cycle" that is analogous to the individual learning process, in which data (experience) analysis (reflection), concept and hypothesis formation, and testing are related in a sequential but also cyclical process. The establishment of a federal research and development system coordinated perhaps by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement in the Department of Education based on this model would encounter formidable problems of interagency coordination and resistance from universities and research firms (Crain & Hawley, 1981).

The importance of the federal role in research development and dissemination activities cannot be overstated. The limited resources and urgent demands for funds to meet immediate programmatic needs at the local and state levels make it unlikely that research will be supported. Where local districts develop coordination strategies or instructional models to cope more effectively with their own needs, there is little incentive to evaluate or disseminate these results to other districts with similar needs.

Dissemination and Technical Assistance

The development of new knowledge through research, model building and evaluation, in itself is not enough to effect changes in resegregation practices of federal, state and local education agencies. Policy makers and practitioners need to be told about new knowledge in ways that they will find meaningful to the solutions of problems they see as important. These instruments of federal policy can serve this function: dissemination, technical assistance and professional development. We discuss the third of these in the next section of the report.

Just as resegregation cuts across the boundaries of service delivery programs, it also intersects many technical assistance activities, which are usually organized categorically to parallel federal grant programs. Technical assistance for implementing categorical programs typically has been concerned

with neither desegregation nor resegregation. Rather, it is focused on administrative and service delivery procedures for achieving compliance.

Conversely, race desegregation-related technical assistance programs have not often addressed within-school segregation except, perhaps, with respect to issues involving discipline. While this is one of the categories of assistance that can be offered by the Race Desegregation Assistance Centers (RDAC's), many of these centers apparently have not focused on resegregation or on instructional planning and management (Hawley & Schapira, 1980). In addition, the RDAC's lack coordination with other types of technical assistance, such as categorical program assistance and sex and national origin minority desegregation centers.

In order for technical assistance to be effective in eliminating resegregation, it needs to focus on linking the management of implementation of desegregation and other service delivery:

> Federal policymakers need to recognize that the sheer number of separate programs is the source of many problems. . . . A significant task, then, is to help local districts devise programming strategies for multiple program schools, and to help local officials coordinate programs at the school level. . . . Most federal programs provide funds for their own management, but there is no money or specific technical assistance to help local districts devise an integrated strategy across federal programs. Local districts should be given resources for coordination and be furnished with examples of successful program integration. (Kimbrough & Hill, 1981, p. 43)

There are several ways in which the federal role in fostering a reorientation of desegregation technical assistance might be structured. Several options were explored in a memorandum by Hawley (1981). They include: (1) the direct funding of LEAs to purchase technical assistance, (2) coordination of existing mechanisms for research and technical assistance, so that information related to desegregation from different agencies might be packaged and disseminated, (3) the creation of a small technical assistance office, and (4) support of a research and development center to assist state agencies. This memo is attached as Appendix A.

Professional Development

The content of federally supported programs for teacher education and in-service staff development has often paralleled the definition of target populations for service delivery programs. Training programs for teachers of handicapped and limited-English-speaking children in schools and colleges of education have been funded to provide personnel to implement categorical programs for these groups. In-service workshops to train remedial reading and math specialists have produced teachers for Title I and other compensatory programs. Some technical assistance efforts have used teacher training as a key part of their efforts.

In addition to support for training of specialized teachers and other school personnel, the federal government has provided funds for in-service and teachers center programs on implementing instructional innovations, classroom management, and other issues that have relevance to resegregation. What has been lacking is an integration of these efforts within the context of desegregation. Staff development programs for regular teachers in resegregation issues and alternatives should go beyond the discrete sources of the problem. The capacities of teachers and administrators to implement these changes are enhanced by training in planning and management. This is an area that in-service training programs have frequently ignored and one that is important to successful introduction of innovations in schools (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978).

The recent consolidation of many professional development programs including Teacher Corps, Teacher Centers, ESAA and others into a block grant greatly reduces the possibilities of influencing professional development through federal regulation of programs. This trend coupled with the lack of effective training models and instructional and management strategies for dealing with the problems that give rise to resegregation suggests that greater attention must be focused on research and development and technical assistance that will support efforts of state and local education agencies in the professional development of their personnel.

Summary

The central purpose of this study has been to identify the extent and causes of resegregation and to suggest some school level practices that can reduce racial isolation within schools. This study has not sought to develop detailed federal strategies, but suggests some general directions for federal policy.

To some extent federal programs through targeting and accountability requirements have contributed to the development and maintenance of resegregative practices. This is most dramatically seen where students are pulled out of regular classes to receive several compensatory services. These programs can be restructured to make it clear that pull out is not the only way to meet targeting requirements, to allow coordination of multiple program services and to provide states and localities with models for program integration. If programs are consolidated, attention needs to be given to the problem of seeing that resources continue to be targeted towards educationally needy students and that school districts receive the necessary technical assistance to manage the program.

The greatest source of resegregative practices appears to be the traditional organizational and academic practices of schools. Here the clear need is for research, development, and dissemination of effective techniques for working with heterogeneous groups of students, discipline strategies that curb disproportionate suspensions of minority students, and development of useful non-discriminatory assessment techniques. This is a critical need unlikely to be met at any other level of government.

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ATTACHMENT A

Policy Options for The Emergency School Assistance Act and the Title IV Technical Assistance Programs

Willis D. Hawley

Memorandum to the Office for Planning,
Budget and Evaluation
July 9, 1981

Context

In June, both the Senate and the House passed budgets which placed the Emergency School Assistance Act program and the Title IV (Civil Rights Act) program into the state block grant and eliminated funding for the programs. Since this action follows the proposal of the Administration, this memo assumes that these desegregation assistance programs will be the responsibility of the states. The questions with respect to federal policy toward desegregation are essentially two:

1) Will OCR continue to have a role in the enforcement of Title VI as it relates to block grant monies distributed by states to school districts?
2) Should the federal government seek to provide technical assistance to state agencies concerned with desegregation?

This memo is addressed to the second of these two questions. This memo provides an overview of five different ways the federal government might respond to the needs of LEAs for technical assistance to facilitate effective desegregation.

Do LEA's Need Technical Assistance to Facilitate Effective Desegregation?

It seems reasonably certain that the answer to the question just posed is affirmative. This conclusion follows from the following propositions:

1. Many school systems continue to face unresolved problems after having been desegregated, including resegregation.
2. Even in the absence of any pressure from the executive branch of the federal government, many school systems will be desegregated as a result of new or continuing court action or the actions of state agencies.
3. There is insufficient expertise in most LEA's to address the unique issues posed by desegregation.
4. The normal sources of inservice training, such as schools of education or teachers centers (should they continue to exist), do not generally offer training related to desegregation and do not have the resources to do so.

What type of technical assistance do school systems need? Needs range from help in drawing plans to minimize public transportation and maximize student continuity in a given school to the development and implementation of systems for promoting academic achievement in heterogeneous classrooms and for achieving discipline in an equitable and effective manner. These and other needs usually confront schools more or less simultaneously so that incremental strategies for staff development are insufficient.

Policy Options

1. Do nothing: allow states or private industry to provide technical assistance without federal support to states or LEA's.
2. Provide funds directly to LEA's to purchase the technical assistance they require.
3. Coordinate existing mechanisms for research and technical assistance

to provide information to state agencies.

4. Create a small office for technical assistance to states that would serve one or both of two functions:

   a. to provide transitional capacity building assistance,

   b. to collect, synthesize and disseminate relevant information over time.

5. Support a research and development center to assist state agencies.

Another hypothetical option is to provide technical assistance directly to LEA's from a federal or federally funded agency. We assume that this option is incongruent with Administration policies.

Analysis of Options

Option One: Do Nothing

Under this option whatever needs school systems had for technical assistance would be purchased from the private sector or provided by state agencies.

Advantages:

There would be no cost to the federal government.

The needs for technical assistance to promote desegregation would be weighed against other needs in terms of local and state budgetary allocations.

Disadvantages:

There is little money to be made privately so that consultants tend to be individuals with limited experience and almost no familiarity with research or information about developments nationally.

Some technical assistance capabilities now exist in SEA's but this is true of only a handful of states. Most states that do have capacity have been supported with federal funds.

If states were to try to develop expertise in the absence of federal support, they would have to draw on the resources of other states and no vehicle now exists for doing so. The Task Force on Desegregation Strategies of the Education Commission of the States, which was supported in part from federal funds, is no longer in full operation.

Option Two: Directly Fund LEA's to Purchase Technical Assistance

Advantages:

Would provide LEA's with resources thus creating a market for technical assistance to which private industry or the states might respond.

Would put LEA's in a better position to define their needs and select the type of assistance they want than would other options.

Disadvantages:

LEA's may be able to define their needs but may lack the expertise to determine who can best meet those needs.

The private "market" for technical assistance would not be robust nor would it be predictable so that private centers with institutional stability and expertise are unlikely to develop. Private sector technical assistance would probably be based on individual offerings and individuals would lack the scope of expertise to be helpful across the broad range of issues confronting desegregating school districts.

The present absence of state agency providers, which is the current situation in many states, would not be remedied without direct support from states or the federal government because LEA funding of state agencies would be unstable and inadequate. Some states would probably have difficulty with the basic premise: there are few other precedents for LEA discretionary "purchase" of state services.

Option Three: Coordinate Existing Mechanisms for Research and Technical Assistance

Several federal programs now develop information and provide technical assistance that is relevant to desegregation. These include the Office for Civil Rights, NIE, the National Diffusion Network, the Right to Read Program, programs for handicapped children, bilingual programs, and others. Information about effective practices and programs related to desegregation could be gleaned from existing programs, could be synthesized and/or packaged, and disseminated to state and local agencies. A small staff would be required but direct services and much of the dissemination could be handled by other program offices serving school districts and states in which desegregation is a continuing concern.

Advantages:

1. Very low cost.
2. Does not pose any threat to education agencies.
3. Emphasizes the interrelationships between desegregation and

other school-level policies.

Disadvantages:

1. Information and assistance provided would not be very great.

2. Desegregation would receive secondary priority and responsibility for ensuring that the information and assistance needed was provided would be diffuse.

3. Staff training would have to be extensive.

Option Four: Create a Small Desegregation Technical Assistance Office

A small office of technical assistance with outreach capacity could be established. This office would as its first priority, assist states to develop their own capabilities for technical assistance. Its second priority might be to collect, synthesize and disseminate relevant information over time. The office would rely as much as possible on other agencies (see Option Three above). Its functions would include information gathering, identifying research needs of education agencies, model development, and training for civil rights compliance, needs assessment and program development and implementation.

Advantages:

Would permit information to be developed that would be more helpful to agencies responsible for desegregation.

Would be unintrusive.

Would create strengths in state education agencies that do not exist in most states.

Would be responsive to the probability that states are unlikely to develop their own technical assistance capacity without financial incentives and external technical expertise.

Would retain a priority on desegregation that would facilitate the dissemination of information and successful practices.

Disadvantages:

Would result in desegregation being treated as a problem discreet from other education issues.

Would be more costly than Options One and Three.

The expertise does not now exist, at least in any one organizational

unit, to staff such a federal office. (Though Title IV offices that presumably will be phased out, along with some Washington based personnel, could provide the necessary staff.)

Option Five: Support a Research and Development Center to Assist State Agencies

This alternative could supplement Options Three or Four. This activity would be pursued so as to provide a mechanism better suited for knowledge development and evaluation than are (line) operating programs. Its funding could go through NIE or it could be directly funded by the federal operating unit responsible for providing technical assistance (if there is one). It might be based in a unit like the Education Commission of the States (ECS) or a university, or it could be a private organization.

Advantages:

Would provide a more positive role for the federal government in developing new knowledge about effective desegregation strategies.

States lack the mechanism to develop knowledge from other political jurisdictions.

Would foster the concentration of technical expertise in ways not usually possible in an operating unit of the federal bureaucracy.

Assistance from such a center might be more readily accepted by state and local agencies.

Disadvantages:

Mechanisms to focus such a center on the needs of state, local and private education agencies would have to be developed.

Would add costs to other options.

May lead to confusion over responsibility for meeting state and local technical assistance needs.

Unless care was taken to assure otherwise, desegregation might not be treated as a problem that is inextricably part of almost all education service provision racially mixed school districts.

Concluding Comments

There seems little doubt that some form of federally supported technical assistance related to desegregation would be welcomed by state and local agencies.

At the same time, it seems clear that states and private organizations will not develop adequate technical assistance capacity without federal aid.

It seems important that efforts be made to treat desegregation as an issue that should be dealt with as part of the overall effort by education agencies to foster equity and provide quality learning opportunities. This suggests that a new approach to technical assistance may be required that seeks to assist states and school systems to deal, in a coherent and interrelated way, with the range of program development and improvement needs most systems should be addressing as part of an overall plan for the delivery of education and related services. Perhaps an Office for Technical Assistance with expertise that cuts across program areas should be considered. Such an office would assist states and, through states, districts to develop comprehensive programs for meeting educational needs and would then facilitate the linking of expertise and resources from the different program areas so as to be of greater assistance. Such an office would also serve to help identify sources of interprogram inconsistencies and opportunities for program reforms aimed at making federal programs more responsive to the needs of different populations as these needs are addressed by state and local agencies.